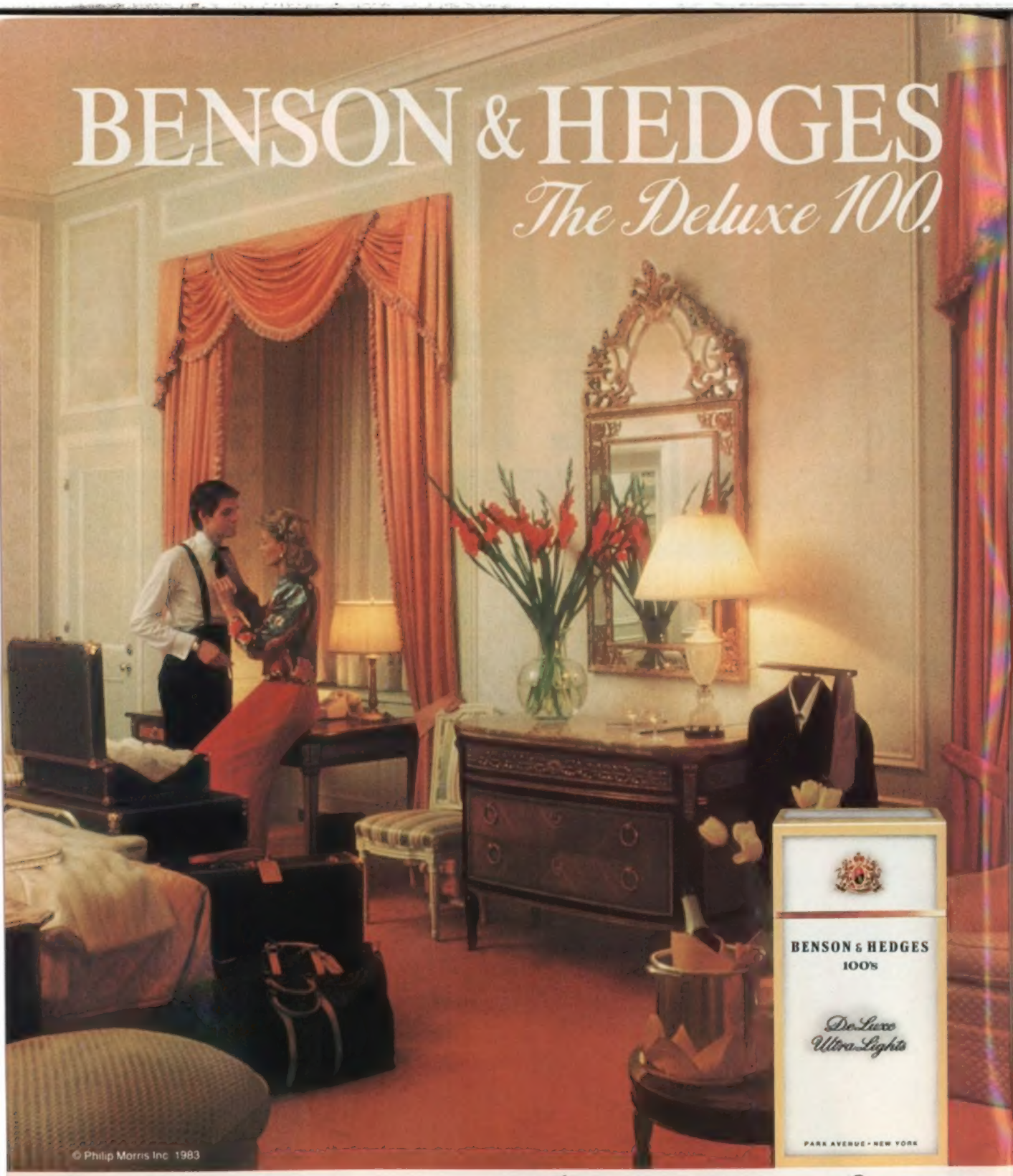
OCTOBER 31, 1983 $1.75

TIME

CARNAGE IN BEIRUT

Mideast Madness Hits the Marines



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OCTOBER 31, 1983 Vol. 122 No. 19 **TIME** THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

A Letter from the Publisher

The magazine had been written, edited and was being "put to bed" by the production department and TIME's printing plants. After midnight Saturday, the editors' offices in the Time & Life Building were quiet and so, it seemed, was the world. Jacalyn McConnell was alone at the news desk, routinely monitoring the overnight wire-service reports and Cable News Network broadcasts.

Just before 3 a.m., both outlets sounded the first ugly bulletin about the attack on the Marines in Beirut. Such late-breaking major news is the *raison d'être* of McConnell's job: she immediately telephoned World Senior Editor Henry Muller and Deputy Chief of Correspondents B. William Mader. Muller, in turn, called Managing Editor Ray Cave. Clearly, the Beirut bombing had to be in the magazine this week.

Muller, Smith and Gonzalez-Alfonso on Sunday

They arrived at TIME's offices around 4 a.m. to shift the journalistic process into overdrive. An hour later, the first dispatch was received from White House Correspondent Douglas Brew, but another hour passed before a phone connection could be made with Beirut. Middle East Bureau Chief William Stewart had made it to the bomb site shortly after the explosion and was ready to dictate his first files. Said he: "In almost four years of covering the Middle East, I have never seen a more appalling or sickening sight than I saw this morning."

A dozen other TIME correspondents around the world were up and asking officials and experts for their reactions and assessments. Manhattan was still dark as Senior Writer William E. Smith, who wrote the main story, and Associate Editor Kurt Andersen, who wrote the accompanying piece on Marine life, got down to work with Muller; indeed, all three had left the office well after dark the night before. By dawn more than two score other staff members, including Reporter-Researchers Betty Satterwhite Sutter and Nelida Gonzalez-Alfonso, had been called in to help.

At 7:30 a.m., as the magnitude of the slaughter and its potential impact became clear, Cave decided that the carnage in Lebanon would be TIME's cover story on 6 million copies worldwide.

The last such weekend cover change concerned another Beirut massacre: the 1982 murder by Christian troops of hundreds of civilians in two refugee camps. Smith wrote that story too. "I visited Beirut and some of the Marine positions only a week ago," Smith said. "There had been a brief lull in Lebanon's bloodshed. It is astonishing how quickly the devastation resumed."

John a. Meyer

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Letters

School Bells

To the Editors:

The current groundswell of interest in education that you describe in "The Bold Quest for Quality" [Oct. 10] rises from ordinary citizens, not teachers, administrators or politicians. Even those who do not have children are interested in better schools. Now that the movement has started, let's not allow it to die.

Claude M. Hill
North Augusta, S.C.

The adversary attitude among teachers, superintendents, school boards and parents is so intense that they have forgotten their main responsibility, which is to educate children. Unfortunately, these groups are more interested in holding on to their power and authority.

Rita C. Donnelly
Pittsburgh

So we are getting back to basics. What that really means is back to anachronistic courses, tired ideologies and intimidating teaching methods.

Laurie A. Burke
Ogden, Utah

When I returned this fall to my teaching job, I was dismayed to find that my duties would now include several additional hours of clerical chores because our office staff had been cut, as well as new responsibilities for windows, chalkboards and wastebaskets because our custodial department had also been trimmed. Even worse, my paycheck is $52 less than last year's because of the increased cost of medical coverage. The millennium for public-school teachers may be on its way, but it is not here yet.

Donald Spear
San Diego

Since the education level of our nation is so low, who is going to teach us how to improve it?

Dean McReynolds
Kansas City

Now that our much maligned teachers have the public's attention, let's give them the dollars they deserve.

Robert G. Oana, Dean
School of Education
University of Evansville
Evansville, Ind.

I am glad that schools are getting better and that people really care whether a 15-year-old like me is learning. I am staying at home now because my teachers are on strike. Oh well, it is the thought that counts.

Scott Telek
Plymouth, Mich.

As a senior at Mount Lebanon High School in Pittsburgh, I can attest to the fact that students are also concerned about the quality of the education they are receiving. At our school, we organized the Student Peer Assistance Program to promote better academic achievement. We give awards and offer counseling and advice on college. Although students cannot change the curriculum or improve the quality of their teachers, they can at least influence young people. We students play an important role in the quest for quality education.

Edward Janairo
Pittsburgh

The public schools could be improved if discipline were handled by administrators and not teachers. Teachers should be able to devote their time, energy and skills to teaching, not to keeping order in the classroom.

Phyllis H. Witcher
Chadds Ford, Pa.

Reaching 60

Your special 60th anniversary issue has conquered time in more ways than its title. Because of your masterly journalistic effort, I am certain that H.G. Wells will be the recipient of the 1984 Nobel Prize for Literature, and, moreover, he will be on hand to accept it.

John W. Young, Publisher
Suburban News
Shelton, Conn.

Some of the stories in your anniversary issue surprised me. I had forgotten that these events had occurred: for instance, the assassination of Mohandas Gandhi. I was also shocked to realize that only in the past 20 years have the American blacks received their civil rights.

Wendell F. Johnson
Delaware, Ohio

A dynamite issue. But your 1937 writing style made my head spin, especially when you said, "Hemingway's novel *propels* him *back* into the *forefront* of American writers."

Jeb Ladouceur
Smithtown, N.Y.

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Letters

You did not mention the special V-mail issues that were printed for overseas customers during World War II. I taped one to a bomb we dropped on Tokyo.

Jim Riffle
Warren, Ohio

I raced through 54 of the past 60 years. It was good to reflect on the events that I remember and to marvel at the number that I missed along the way.

Adelbert M. Jakeman Jr.
Ocean Park, Me.

Your entire 60th anniversary issue is a masterpiece of condensation and analysis, but the Essay "What Really Mattered" is especially poignant and thought-provoking. One sentence in particular tells it all: "In the realm of politics, had the world been inspired by the idea of justice rather than freedom, it might look a good deal healthier."

Indeed, freedom, for all its preciousness and sublime connotations, is often a dubious blessing, if not an outright curse. The Bible celebrates freedom with the liberation of the Israelite slaves. But it also emphatically teaches that for man to survive, law and the administration of justice must be placed above freedom.

Elijah J. Schochet, Rabbi
Congregation Beth Kodesh
Canoga Park, Calif.

I hope some day, somewhere, a grandchild of mine will read about and treasure "Grandma's years." No doubt another 60 years will bring their share of the good, the bad and the miraculous, which might even include hosiery that will not run.

Julia Nave Deaton
Yazoo City, Miss.

Early Returns

In your article on the current crop of Democratic candidates [Oct. 10], you point out that most voters have yet to make up their minds. There is good reason for this: the candidates are not addressing the issues but are running as personalities. As long as this situation prevails, voters are not going to be able to make an intelligent choice.

Carl Johnson
Los Angeles

Saying Sorry

Your Essay "On Apologies, Authentic and Otherwise" [Oct. 10] makes me want to ask Yuri Andropov: Suppose it could be proved to your satisfaction that KAL 007 was not on a spy mission, would you then offer an apology?

Richard Royal
Stow, Mass.

To your list of reasons why the Soviets did not apologize for shooting down the Korean jetliner, you should have added one more. No one confesses his mistakes to someone who has self-righteously condemned him as the "focus of evil," which is what President Reagan called the U.S.S.R. Making our fellow men appear worse than they are is bearing false witness. Let's begin the forgiving process ourselves, and such tragedies may be not only redeemed but also prevented.

Harold Gordon Porter
Cincinnati

Why has the Soviet Union not shown regret for shooting down the passenger plane? That nation has been intimidating the world since 1918. As everyone knows, when you intimidate you do not apologize.

Don Sharp
Monrovia, Calif.

Skinner Alive

TIME has long laughed at, misrepresented and selectively ignored the important writings of B.F. Skinner. Your report [Oct. 10] on his latest book is an example of your bias. Skinner is one of the few psychologists who know what it means to approach scientifically the things people do and the reasons why they do them. If Skinner does not eventually surpass

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U.S. Gov't Report—no brand lower than Carlton Box King—less than 0.5 mg. tar, 0.05 mg. nic

Box: Less than 0.5 mg. "tar", 0.05 mg. nicotine; 100's Box: 1 mg. "tar", 0.1 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Mar. '83.

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Letters

Freud as the dominant influence in psychology, it will be unfortunate and will prove that humans are more stupid than Skinner and I think they are.

Thomas F. McGinty
Hilton Head, S.C.

Skinner's theory concerning the role the environment plays in shaping our behavior is as important to psychology as Darwin's thesis of natural selection is to biology. Skinner has shown that all concepts, no matter how lofty, and all feelings, no matter how deeply felt, are produced not by internal influences but by external ones, like reward and punishment.

Henry L. Phillips
Laplace, La.

Monitor's Helmswoman

Thanks for the article on Katherine Fanning, the newly appointed female editor of the *Christian Science Monitor* [Oct. 10]. Nevertheless, I was shocked to see you describe the paper as stodgy. It is an inspiring and instructive publication, the best teaching source I know.

Dorothy Woodworth
Palo Alto, Calif.

When TIME in its story on the *Monitor* included me among the "elderly stars" of the newspaper, I could not make up my mind whether I had been flattered or flattened.

Elderly at 68? Horse feathers! My father may have become slightly elderly when he reached 100, but I doubt it. On his 104th birthday (his last), he was up and around and had a phone conversation with President Gerald Ford. My mother may have been elderly at 96, although that spunky lady would never admit it. Otherwise, I thought TIME's article on the efforts being made to revive the *Christian Science Monitor* was superb.

Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Senior Washington Columnist
Christian Science Monitor
Washington, D.C.

Deadly Deregulation

The airlines and their unions agree on one thing. Both blame deregulation for their woes [Oct. 10]. After 40 years under the watchful care of the Federal Government, the industry grew corpulent and slothful. A leaner, trimmer operation ought to have been each carrier's objective upon deregulation in 1978. Instead, management expanded its routes, and flight crews ate *haute cuisine* and bought Winnebagos. One is dumb; the other is dumber.

Alan R. Bender
Berkeley, Calif.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR should be addressed to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020, and should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone. Letters may be edited for purposes of clarity or space.

The new 190 E 2.3 Sedan: a $24,000 four-door wedge that weighs 2,655 lbs., has an aerodynamic drag coefficient of 0.35,*

Introducing the new 190 Class: the standards of Mercedes-Benz in an automobile like none before.

MERCEDES-BENZ HAS computed a bold new equation of space and mass and energy. From it has emerged a new automotive category: the 190 Class of gasoline- and diesel-powered sedans, priced in the $24,000 range.

The 190 Class extends the unique Mercedes-Benz synthesis of high technology, obsessive quality and sheer driving exhilaration into territory ripe for such leadership.

It breaks through previous limits. Sets new performance parameters. Achieves a level of balanced excellence achieved by no other automobiles of similar size and weight.

In sum, the 190 Class is more than a new model from Mercedes-Benz. It is a new example for the automotive world of the eighties.

BREAKTHROUGH SUSPENSION

The engineers spent five years, and investigated 70 variations of eight principal systems, en route to the *multilink* independent rear suspension that is the car's crowning technological advance.

It helps make this four-door Mercedes-Benz a blend of agility and stability that, *Road & Track* predicts, "...will challenge some of the finest sports sedans in the world on just about any road you choose."

Each rear wheel is independently located by five precisely aligned links, which swing through interacting arcs during wheel movement and function as a unit to maintain the rear wheels in an attitude parallel to the road surface. Translation: the 190 Class tracks as if on rails. Roadholding poise and adhesion are almost uncanny.

The 190 Class is the trimmest and lightest Mercedes-Benz sedan of modern times. Multilink suspension makes it the best-handling Mercedes-Benz sedan in history.

The new 190E 2.3 Sedan seeks to redefine four-cylinder gasoline performance—upward.

Its fuel-injected 2.3-liter engine lifts the 190E to a 115-mph-plus test track maximum, yet generates high torque at low engine speeds for responsive snap in every driving range—even in fourth gear at 55 mph. It is an engine superbly matched with an automobile that almost begs for spirited driving. Smoothness was not forgotten: it carries *eight* crankshaft counterweights, plus a vibration damper.

NEW KIND OF DIESEL.

The new 190D 2.2 Sedan equally revises ideas about four-cylinder diesel performance. It advances Mercedes-Benz diesel engine technology to new levels of sophistication and efficiency. (In cold weather, it even preheats its own fuel.) And in perhaps the most imaginative diesel noise-abatement step of them all, it sits *encapsulated* within the engine compartment, surrounded by sound-deadening panels.

Introduced simultaneously with these new engines is a new five-speed manual gearbox, with synchromesh even on reverse and fifth functioning as an overdrive gear for easier highway cruising. You can order this manual or a four-speed automatic version of both the 190E and 190D.

The 190 Class achieves what few production automobiles and almost no four-door sedans have ever achieved: an aerodynamic drag coefficient of 0.35.

Wind roar is dulled to almost nothing. So obsessed with aero-

*Approximate suggested advertised delivered price at port of entry. †See your authorized dealer for complete warranty information. ©1983 Mercedes-Benz N.A., Inc., Montvale, N.J.

can reach 115-mph-plus on the test track, and is built to the uncompromising standards of Mercedes-Benz.

dynamic efficiency were its designers that they even faired a wind deflector onto the undersides of the main rear suspension arms, to help manage the airflow streaming beneath the car.

"WHICH MERCEDES IS THIS?"

Into this 14½-foot aerodynamic wedge has been designed civilized passenger space, accessible via four wide-opening doors and backed by a deep, rectangular 11.7-cubic-foot trunk.

"The most astounding thing happens when you take the driver's seat…you would be hard pressed to tell what Mercedes you are in," marvels one writer.

This no doubt derives in some measure from the sense of security and solidity imparted by every Mercedes-Benz. Another reason may be that its 41 inches of front legroom exactly matches that found in the largest Mercedes-Benz sedans built today.

The two supple front bucket-type seats are adjustable to almost infinite combinations of height, seatback rake, and fore-and-aft travel. The standards of Mercedes-Benz prevail in comfort as they do in engineering: the 190 Class is fully equipped and consummately well crafted, down to its hand-worked wood interior trim.

The 190 Class carries forward intact the Mercedes-Benz safety philosophy and Mercedes-Benz safety technology. Such critical features as collapsible front and rear body sections, meant to absorb kinetic energy in a major impact, are designed in. One nontechnological innovation is worth note: the 190 Class comes with a remarkable 48-month-or-50,000-mile limited warranty as standard.†

SACRED STANDARDS

The 190 Class, in the form of the new 190E 2.3 and 190D 2.2 Sedans, opens an exciting new chapter in automotive history. It meanwhile continues one of the oldest traditions in automotive history. For what it achieves has been achieved without deviating by one single millimeter from the sacred standards that make a Mercedes-Benz a Mercedes-Benz.

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TIME OCTOBER 31, 1983

COVER STORIES

Carnage in Lebanon

Twin terrorist bombings decimate the U.S. and French peace-keeping forces

It was early Sunday morning in Lebanon, the beginning of an October day that promised even in that strife-riven country to draw crowds to the beaches and strollers to the corniches. Only the cooks were up and about in the reinforced-concrete Aviation Safety Building on the edge of the Beirut International Airport, used as headquarters by the Eighth Marine Battalion of the U.S. part of the peace-keeping force. Built around a courtyard, the headquarters contained a gymnasium, a reading room, the administrative offices and the communications center for the battalion. It was also sleeping quarters for some 200 Marines; most were still in their cots, enjoying the luxury of Sunday, the one day of the week when they were free from reveille. Suddenly a truck, laden with dynamite, on a fanatical suicide mission crashed into the building's lobby and exploded with such force that the structure collapsed in seconds, killing or wounding most of the Marines inside. By evening the toll, still incomplete as rescuers picked through the rubble, stood at 147 dead, 60 wounded.

For the U.S. Armed Forces, it was the worst disaster since the end of the Viet Nam War a decade ago. The terrorist attack illustrated in the most grisly fashion possible just how risky it is for the U.S. to venture, not just with its diplomats but with its troops, into a region that has been plagued for centuries by factionalism and hatred. The carnage in Lebanon was virtually certain to produce a political storm as members of Congress and ordinary Americans questioned the wisdom of a policy they do not always understand. For the fractious little country at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, whose government the American peace keepers were trying to uphold, the event marked another terrible setback on the seemingly endless path away from anarchy and chaos.

All across the nation on Sunday night, Marine Corps officers walked up to homes and apartments to inform Americans that their sons or brothers or fathers or husbands had died under the twisted, smoking debris in Beirut. It was the Marine way: personal notification, not an anonymous telegram or faceless phone call. Some of the bodies were already headed home; others still lay under tons of metal and concrete as the search team worked around the clock. It would be days before America could fully count its dead and wounded.

After hearing of the bombing in a 2:27 a.m. phone call from his National Security Adviser, Robert McFarlane, President Reagan broke off a weekend golfing visit to Georgia. Emerging from his helicopter on the White House lawn, he clutched his wife Nancy's hand in his own and returned the salute of a young Marine. The President then declared, "I know there are no words to properly express our outrage and the outrage of all Americans at the despicable act. But I think we should all recognize that these deeds make so evident the bestial nature of those who would assume power if they could have their way and drive us out of that area." The U.S. must be more determined than ever, said the President, to ensure that such forces "cannot take over that vital and strategic area of the earth."

After a three-hour meeting of the Na-

Crushed bodies and fallen stones were all that remained of the four-story U.S. Marine command

tional Security Council Sunday afternoon. Presidential Spokesman Larry Speakes announced that the President had decided to dispatch General Paul X. Kelley, commandant of the Marine Corps, to Beirut to undertake a complete review of ways in which better protection could be provided for the Marines. Speakes said, "We also intend to respond to this criminal act when the perpetrators are identified." Asked what kind of retaliation the President may have in mind, Speakes answered, "That's for those who did it to wonder about and worry about." Reagan, he said, would consult with the French, Italian, British and Lebanese governments before announcing the other decisions that were made. That night, the President signed a proclamation ordering the lowering of American flags to half-staff until Oct. 31.

A continent away, another nation was in mourning. By no coincidence, a building used by French paratroopers, about

two miles from the U.S. compound at the airport, was blown up several minutes after the attack against the Marines. The official toll by Sunday evening was 27 French dead and 12 wounded, but because so many soldiers were presumed to be trapped under the debris, as many as 100 French troops could have perished. Declaring the bombing "an odious and cowardly attack," French Defense Minister Charles Hernu immediately departed for Beirut. "What kind of insanity are we talking about?" asked Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson. "This is madness." For France, it was the worst military loss since the end of the Algerian war 22 years ago.

The attack began at exactly 6:20 a.m., when a red pickup truck approached the Beirut airport, where most of the 1,600-man Marine contingent in Lebanon is based. As the vehicle turned left into the parking lot, a Marine guard reported with alarm that it was gathering speed. Then, in

center at Beirut International Airport after a nightmarish

suicide bombing attack early Sunday morning

Still dazed from the explosion, a U.S. Marine is lowered from the wreckage of the headquarters by his comrades

a lightning move, the truck charged toward the entrance of the four-story building, hit the sandbagged guard post, burst through a barrier and vaulted another wall of sandbags into the lobby. It exploded with a deafening roar, destroying the building. Minutes later, the second blast rocked the French building in the Bir Hasan seafront residential neighborhood of West Beirut. The force of that blast was so great that it moved the entire building 30 ft.

Almost immediately, as shocked U.S. and French troops undertook the task of finding the dead and wounded, the casualty figures began to soar. The first reports said that at least 40 Marines had been killed, then 57; by noon Sunday the Pentagon put the toll at 120 dead and 45 injured—and still rising. Said Lieut. Colonel Thomas Jones, a Pentagon spokesman: "There are extensive casualties. It changes on a minute-by-minute basis." Before Sunday, six Marines had been killed in Lebanon by sniper fire or artillery explosions in the Beirut airport vicinity, and a seventh had died when a mine exploded.

At the airport, a cloud of acrid smoke hung over a scene of utter desolation. The dead and dying lay in rows along the runway, ready for evacuation. Personal photos were scattered among official documents. Marines looked frantically for their buddies. Said a young soldier who was standing guard at the time of the attack: "It was unbelievable. I saw the truck crash through the entrance, and then the explosion threw me against the wall. My God, I must be the last person left alive in my section. I don't know why I'm living." Standing amid the debris, his arms and fatigues covered with blood from the victims he had helped to carry out, a young French soldier shouted, "What beasts! What an insane country!"

The blast at the Marine barracks was so severe that it scattered fragments for hundreds of feet in every direction. "This is the worst carnage I have seen since Viet Nam," said the Marine spokesman, Major Robert Jordan, as he stood in front

One of the survivors is lifted to safety

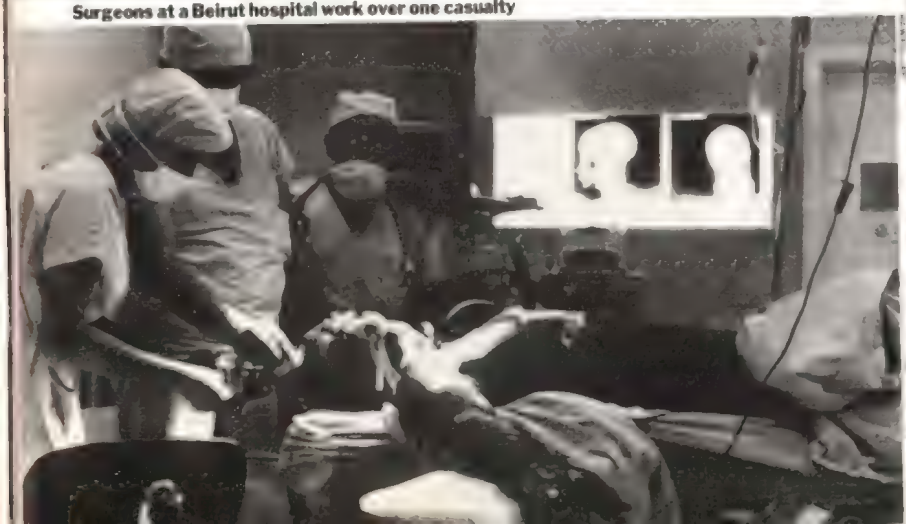
Marines searching through the building's rubble to retrieve their dead

The bodies of Americans caught in the blast are laid in a row by the rescue team

of the heap of twisted steel and stone that had been the headquarters building. The commander of the Marine contingent in Lebanon, Colonel Timothy Geraghty, 45, was not in the building at the time of the explosion but arrived shortly afterward to direct operations. Within an hour, a large team of Marines, Lebanese rescue workers and Italian soldiers were climbing over the glass and mortar trying to dig out survivors. Occasionally they shouted at soldiers, reporters and others in the area, asking them to be quiet so that the rescuers could hear any calls for help from people still trapped under the site. On one side of the explosion area, 15 bodies lay on stretchers. At the top of what was left of the building, a search team dug frantically through the ruins. Suddenly, a head appeared, then the arms and finally the rest of the body of a wounded Marine clad only in red shorts. Miraculously, he had survived. At about 1 p.m., the Marine headquarters zone came under sniper fire from a cluster of houses near by. The rescue work continued, but all onlookers and nonessential personnel had to take cover. The sniper alert lasted for two hours. The devastated building had been known to Marines as the Beirut Hilton. It served as the nerve center for the Marine companies stationed around the perimeter of the airport. The lethal pickup truck was estimated to have contained about 2,000 lbs. of high explosives. The blast left a crater 30 ft. deep and 40 ft. wide.

Shortly after the two huge explosions, ships of the U.S. Sixth Fleet, including the assault ship *Iwo Jima*, moved to within a mile offshore. The *Iwo Jima* is equipped with surgical operating theaters and other emergency facilities. Helicopters carried most of the wounded to that ship; others were taken to the American University Hospital, an Italian field hospital, British Royal Air Force hospitals on Cyprus, or were flown to U.S. military hospitals in West Germany and Italy. Whatever differences may exist between the U.S. and its allies over the Middle East, the various contingents of the

Surgeons at a Beirut hospital work over one casualty



Marine wipes away a tear

A soldier stands guard before the flattened French building

Multi-National Force were cooperating closely during the emergency. The Italians were providing medical assistance for the Americans, and the British took over from the Marines the guard duty on the airport boulevard. As the grim rescue operation continued, a state of shock prevailed in the city. On this day, which had followed a night of artillery duels in the hills, most people remained indoors, anxious and apprehensive.

From the President on down, the Administration reacted with sorrow and anger to what was undoubtedly the worst tragedy of the Reagan presidency. When he spoke on the White House lawn, the President did not use notes, because, as he said privately, he wanted "to do it from the heart." Reagan spent much of Sunday morning in the White House Situation Room with Vice President George Bush, Secretary of State George Shultz, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, McFarlane and General John W. Vessey, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. At a morning meeting, the National Security Council decided against any drastic shift in U.S. policy. Weinberger said that efforts would be made to reduce the vulnerability of the Marines in Lebanon, perhaps by moving them to more secure positions. The White House ruled out any increase in combat strength in Lebanon but planned to send replacements for the dead and wounded. In fact, by mid-afternoon, Marines at Camp Lejeune, N.C., were receiving their orders to replace the men who had been killed that morning. Declared Weinberger: "Our commitment to the cause of Middle East peace still remains." A top White House aide noted: "We're convinced that this was done by someone who wants us out, and we're not getting out."

Some Administration officials expressed fears that the bombing would stir a national debate on Middle East policy, creating pressures ranging from a pullout of the Marines to retaliation. All the unanswered questions aired when Reagan first asked Congress to approve the U.S. Marine presence in Lebanon seemed sure to arise again. Congress gave the President the necessary authority four weeks ago to keep the Marines in Lebanon—but with considerable reluctance; in the Senate the resolution passed by a vote of only 54 to 46. New York Democrat Samuel Stratton, a hawkish veteran of the House Armed Services Committee, immediately renewed his earlier calls for a withdrawal of the Marines. "They're serving no useful purpose," he said. "If it escalates, we're deeper in the morass, and we've got another Viet Nam on our hands." Though there is little chance, at least initially, that Congress will reverse its decision, the Administration will almost certainly come under far more pressure to justify the peace-keeping mission. "What it all underscores," said Maryland Republican Senator Charles Mathias, "is, what is our Middle East policy? We need a policy." Asked House Democrat David Obey, who had opposed the President's request for congressional support: "What the hell are we supposed to be doing over there? What is the role?"

Awaiting help, a French paratrooper holds a victim's hand

Senator Ernest Hollings of South Carolina, a Democratic presidential candidate, called on the Administration to draft a plan to withdraw the Marines within 60 days. "If they've been put there to fight, then there are far too few," he said. "If they've been put there to be killed, there are far too many." Meanwhile, Democratic Front Runner Walter Mondale cautiously avoided the issue Sunday, after making a brief statement of sympathy. Said he: "Today should only be a day of mourning for those wonderful young Americans who have lost their lives serving our country in the cause of peace."

Messages of condolence were arriving from around the world. In London, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher expressed her sorrow to Reagan, as well as to President François Mitterrand, and assured them that Britain would not withdraw its contingent of 100 soldiers from Lebanon. Said a Thatcher aide: "By attempting to bomb the Multi-National Force out of Lebanon, the extremists, whoever they are, have in a perverse way confirmed the success of the force in helping stabilize the country." Pope John Paul II, his voice filled with emotion as he stood before a crowd of 80,000 at St. Peter's Square, declared, "A great sense of sorrow surges from the soul." Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir called the bombing a "despicable crime that was undoubtedly perpetrated by those who want to prevent a peaceful solution in Lebanon and to increase bloodshed." In Moscow, the Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* observed: "It appears the Viet Nam story begins to repeat itself. The U.S. is getting drawn deeper into the fighting, while generals get more and more freedom of action."

As usual in the Lebanese political maelstrom, there was no shortage of suspects for the bombing. Nor was there any certainty that the question would ever be answered satisfactorily. The primary effect of the Marines' presence in

"We All Knew the Hazards"

At daybreak, exactly 72 hours before the terrorist explosion killed scores of his comrades at Marine headquarters, First Sergeant William Creech had just awakened and shuffled outside with his mirror and canteen of hot water to shave. And talk. "There's no comparison with Viet Nam," said the Georgian, at 34 older than most of his fellows. "We're here for high visibility, not to engage in combat."

Life in any war zone is both tedious and desperately anxious. But for the 1,600 U.S. Marines in Lebanon, the inability to fight back has created a particular vulnerability that shows up in the uneasy expressions of many men. For Bravo Company, the long, empty days are spent mostly in dug-out bunkers or grungy tents. The simultaneously high and low points involve hitting the dirt: at the southern end of the airport compound, snipers are as close as 150 yds., and incoming grenades and light rockets occasionally fall near by. At night it is cool and damp. The lush sound of the Mediterranean surf is punctuated by the regular *whump* of outgoing mortar rounds aimed into the Chouf foothills and, every ten minutes or so, the clatter of a Lebanese Army .50-cal. machine gun firing at Druze militiamen and their allies.

Each morning before 8 a.m. the troops finish breakfast (eggs to order, French toast and, as ever, Spam). The volleyball games and group jogs have been rare since the hostile fire turned intense late in the summer. Between duties, some soldiers kill stray scorpions and centipedes in the three- and four-man bunkers. When he was out and about during a stint as liaison officer to the British peacekeeping troops, First Lieut. Lee Marlow of Nashville found to his surprised pleasure that "people in Beirut seemed friendly. They waved and said hello." But now he and everyone else must spend the bulk of their time hunkered down. "It's mostly boring, really," says one of the riflemen guarding a road to the main coastal highway. Marlow agrees. "You really can't go anywhere," he says. "So I've spent a lot of time lifting weights or playing my guitar." He pauses. "I'm not good at it. I really only bought it because I knew I was coming here."

Tinny-sounding melodies of various sorts drift out of the compound's tents and fortified holes in the ground all day long. "I was listening to my radio," explained one grunt in his bunker at Post One, "until I got tired of the Arab music." His own tape player was broken. "I was going to put me on some Deep Purple, but I got ketchup on the batteries." Each Marine is permitted one can of beer a day. Many of them have read more during their months in Lebanon than ever before. Letter writing to parents, siblings and girlfriends is a principal pastime. "They're looking forward to going home next month," Marlow says of his men, "and some of the troops can't wait to get out of here. But I don't think morale is a problem." That was before Sunday.

Conversations fill the gaps in the days, endless hours of idle chatting, serious talk and slightly nervous joking among buddies. The Marines have never been quite comfortable with the curious, frustrating nature of their Lebanese mission. In the stark light of last weekend's catastrophe, their speculations now have a tint of terrible, sad sweetness. "I've never really been in combat," said one young officer a few days before the bombing, "so I can't say what combat is. All I can say is this is regarded as a hostile-fire situation. We don't get out of our foxholes on the offensive." Thus constrained, he shows his Marine pride in another way, perhaps a bit wishfully: "I think the hostile forces have a healthy respect for us. The Marines have just that special flavor."

The chummy discussion by two enlisted men sitting outside their bunker was, perhaps surprisingly, dominated by the ambiguous considerations of diplomacy. "If we fire back at snipers," said Corporal John Anderson, 21, "we'll only cause more problems. They'll blame us." Corporal Jimmy Cornell, 20, nodded. "He's right. It's really catch-22. We were sitting here last night on the sandbags when this guy fired at us. The dirt flew up in our faces, but what can we do?" Anderson was worried too that fire lobbed into the mountains "will wind up hitting innocent Lebanese."

PETER JORDAN

Before the attack, the bunkered life of a Beirut Marine

The evening meal, eaten on trays in the mess tent beginning at 4:30 p.m., is sociable, almost homey. The Marines call it "supper," and last Wednesday night was typical: goulash and noodles, green beans and vanilla pudding, all washed down by Kool-Aid or milk. Afterward, the troops fall into candlelit bull sessions back in their bunkers, or head over to the company "club," a shanty where they watch videotaped movies on a small television set powered by a protectively sandbagged generator. Lights (and TV) out is at 9:30 p.m.

Captain Monty Hoover, 32, likes commanding the 200 men of Bravo Company, who defend the airport's southern perimeter. "There's nothing finer," he says. "In a way, I feel fortunate to be here. It's not that I enjoy fighting—I've never been in a fistfight. But it's—how can I say it?—it's where the action is for the U.S. It's a life I chose, and here I am." He has pangs of homesickness just like his troops; his wife and two children are back in North Carolina.

Even Captain Hoover, as gung-ho as he seems, knows the horrors. "I've lost a good friend," he said. A few days earlier, one of his fellow captains was killed by sniper fire at the airport. For Hoover last week, three days before his headquarters was wiped out, the losses still seemed of emotionally manageable proportions. Casualties had happened one or a few at a time. "No one likes to hear about Marines being killed or wounded," Hoover said. "I've known half of the men who have been killed, one particularly well. That's always hard to take. I think the anxiety level for our families must be high." But for himself, he is no special pleader. "We all knew the hazards of being in the military, of being in Lebanon. We're all volunteers." —*By Kurt Anderson. Reported by William Stewart/Beirut*

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Lebanon has been to provide backing for the fledgling government of President Amin Gemayel. For this reason, the Maronite Christians have generally welcomed the peace keepers and in fact have attached an almost symbolic importance to the presence of the U.S. battleship *New Jersey* in the waters off Beirut.

Other Lebanese factions have resented the Marines for their backing of the Christian-dominated government. Among them are the Druze, members of a sect that broke away from Islam in the 11th century. They are angry both because they have never had a fair share of political power in Lebanon and because the Christian militias moved forcibly into their mountainous region as soon as the Israeli forces had staged a partial withdrawal from Lebanon almost two months ago. Equally resentful of the Marines' presence are the Shi'ite Muslims, who are also fighting for a greater share of political power. The recent sniping deaths of U.S. Marines are believed to have been the work of Shi'ites who live in the squalid neighborhoods near the airport. Many of the Shi'ites are refugees from parts of southern Lebanon that Israel invaded last year and still occupies.

Others who oppose the Gemayel government, and thus the Marines, are elements of the Palestine Liberation Organization who either managed to remain in Lebanon following last year's evacuation of at least 6,000 P.L.O. commandos from Beirut, or have succeeded in insinuating their way back. The Druze and several of the Muslim groups have been armed and aided by the Syrian government. The Syrians are determined to assure themselves of an important future role in Lebanese affairs, and have repeatedly called for the resignation of Gemayel.

Weinberger did not rule out that either Syria or its chief arms supplier, the Soviet Union, bore some responsibility. The Marines, he said Sunday, remained in Lebanon precisely because neither the Syrians nor the P.L.O. had withdrawn their forces from the country. The Soviets, Weinberger said on *Face the Nation*, "have a huge presence in Syria, and they love to fish in troubled waters."

To American policymakers, the latest bombings were all too reminiscent of the destruction of the U.S. embassy in West Beirut last April that killed 63 people, including 17 Americans. One of the groups claiming responsibility for that action was the Islamic Jihad Organization, an obscure pro-Iranian group made up of Shi'ite Muslims loyal to Iran's Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini. On Sunday evening the State Department received an unconfirmed report that a faction calling itself the Islamic Revolutionary Movement had taken responsibility for the terrorist attacks. An unidentified caller had apparently phoned the Beirut office of the French news service Agence France-Presse to say that two of the movement's fighters had died in the suicide attacks.

Weinberger said that there was "a lot of circumstantial evidence, and a lot of it points to Iran." Sunday's twin attacks against the U.S. and French forces were, just like the U.S. embassy bombing, carefully coordinated kamikaze missions. But the strongest indication that an Iran-backed radical Shi'ite group was involved derived from the fact that the French contingent was struck at the same time as the Marines. In recent months France has become one of Khomeini's most hated countries, partly because it granted asylum to former Iranian President Bani Sadr and other Iranian dissidents, and partly because it sold five sophisticated Super Etendard jets to Iraq. U.S. intelligence analysts note that the Iranians have pressed the Hizbolla, a radical Shi'ite group in Lebanon, to step up terrorist action against French and American targets. "The thing that clinches it for me is that the French got it too," says a senior intelligence official. "The Syrians would have hit only the Americans."

An anguished, angry Reagan on his return to Washington from Augusta, Ga.

The Hizbolla, which means Party of God, is a rival to the Amal faction, the largest Shi'ite group in Lebanon. It receives guns, ammunition and money from the Iranian revolutionary guards operating in the Syrian-controlled Bekaa Valley and from the Iranian embassy in Beirut, which sees it as a vehicle for extending Khomeini's influence in Lebanon. The Hizbolla is widely assumed to have been behind the U.S. embassy bombing, but neither Lebanese nor U.S. authorities have been able to pin this down. A measure of the difficulty of identifying terrorists in Lebanon is that although two or three people confessed to taking part in the embassy bombing, nobody has yet figured out for certain what group was behind their act.

The current impasse in Lebanon has its roots not only in the country's fragmentation but also in Israel's 1948 war of independence and its 1967 occupation of the West Bank. In time, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians moved to Lebanon, eventually upsetting the country's fragile political balance between Muslims and Christians. When Lebanon erupted into civil war in 1975, Syrian President Hafez Assad sent in troops. But what began as the backbone of an Arab peace-keeping force eventually became a permanent occupation. After Menachem Begin became

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Prime Minister of Israel in 1977, the situation became even more complex, first with Israel's occupation of a "security strip" in southern Lebanon in March 1978, then with the all-out invasion last year. The Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon forced thousands of Lebanese Shi'ites to flee to the slums of Beirut. The dispossessed Shi'ites, along with the Palestinians and the increasingly radicalized Lebanese Muslims—all of them egged on by the Syrians—have made for an explosive mixture.

One lesson to be drawn from the present turmoil is that Israel's refusal to compromise on the Palestinian issue has created a chronic and festering crisis in the region. Says William Quandt, a Brookings Institution fellow who served on the National Security Council during the Carter Administration: "Israeli military activity over the past five years turned a problem into a catastrophe." It is a situation in which so far the U.S. has not found much remedy, only trouble. Notes Quandt: "The Marines needed to be part of a political process that was achieving some progress in order to have meaning. In the absence of such a process, they became sitting ducks for people who had all kinds of reasons to want to disrupt and provoke. They became targets rather than symbols of future stability." Another lesson, judging by the experience of the Syrians and the Israelis, is that attempts by outsiders to dominate Lebanon tend to end in failure, if not disaster.

This need not apply to the U.S., whose aims in Lebanon are very limited, but it raises questions about the wisdom of a policy that is not precisely stated. The Administration has never really given a thoroughly convincing, coherent answer to the question of why the Marines are in Lebanon. Initially they were sent, along with French and Italian forces, to monitor the withdrawal of the P.L.O. and fill the vacuum that this would create. Then they were to provide stability as Syrian and Israeli troops pulled out of the territories they occupied. The U.S. assumed, or at least hoped, that if it could get Israel out of Lebanon, the Syrians would get out too. That did not work, although the Israelis eventually withdrew from the Beirut area and the mountains in order to reduce their own casualties. Gradually, the Marines' purpose was redefined as providing backing for the Gemayel government. But the young President proved to be slow in moving toward a reconciliation of Lebanese Christians and Muslims, and problems mounted. As Harold H. Saunders, a Middle East expert who is a veteran of several previous Administrations, said recently, "You can't use the Marines to put Lebanon together again. The worst contingency would be for the Marines to be there without a clear-cut mandate when the Lebanese government's own mandate is falling apart."

Reagan and National Security advisers at Sunday morning meeting

At various times this year, that is precisely what has happened. In the beginning, the Marines provided the American support for Gemayel that helped him contain the extremists in his own camp. But it can be argued that the Administration became so preoccupied with getting the Syrians and Israelis out of Lebanon that it neglected the task of trying to build up Lebanon's internal stability. Still, most Americans would probably agree with Colonel Geraghty, the Marine commander in Lebanon, who said after Sunday's attack: "We'll continue to do what we came here to do, and that is to provide assistance for a free and independent Lebanon." This is clearly the Administration's policy, and there is little the U.S. can do at the moment except follow it. The Administration is probably right in asserting that it has no choice but to maintain the Marine presence until the Lebanese have had a chance to put their country back together. There is, however, a necessary corollary: it should set a timetable, based on reasonable objectives on the part of the Lebanese, for withdrawal.

The most important effect of the carnage in Beirut may be to raise questions not only about U.S. policy in the Middle East but also about the wisdom of President Reagan's willingness to exercise U.S. military muscle around the world. Said a White House aide: "Nobody has a fix on how badly it will hurt. It's the long-term consequences we're worried about." That is perhaps the most persuasive argument for the Administration, once and for all, to think through and explain its intentions in Lebanon.

As of Sunday evening, long after darkness had fallen over Beirut, Americans were left with the stunned knowledge that their young men, who had volunteered for duty in a faraway land that many of them would never understand, were gone. Whatever the details of duty and diplomacy, the Marines had been in Lebanon to try to hold that country together, to stand for peace and order in a place that has known neither for a decade. They had represented an antidote to fanaticism—and fanaticism had brought them down. ***—By William E. Smith. Reported by Douglas Brew and Strobe Talbott/Washington and William Stewart/Beirut***

French and American vessels move inshore in order to receive the wounded

A Time of Trials for Foreign Policy

The Beirut bombing instantly tests Reagan's new NSC adviser

The President could not have had a more appropriate adviser at his side as the National Security Council met Sunday to assess the impact of the attack on the Marines in Lebanon. Robert ("Bud") McFarlane, a retired Marine Corps lieutenant colonel, knew the scene of the carnage intimately. For three months he had shuttled around the Middle East as the President's special envoy, trying to make sense of the region's complex web of rivalries and hatreds. No problem had preoccupied him as much as Lebanon; he had played a key role in arranging the latest cease-fire.

But McFarlane was at the White House on Sunday not just for his fresh Middle East expertise. By coincidence, he had been named six days earlier to replace William Clark as Reagan's National Security Adviser, potentially the second most powerful job in the White House. Just the week before, the President's dispatch of Clark to the Interior Department had utterly rattled Washington. In naming McFarlane to be his principal in-house foreign policy adviser, however, the President followed a predictable course. Standing by as Reagan sang his praises ("a treasure of experience and talent"), McFarlane then stepped toward the TV lights to solicit reporters' questions, something his predecessor never dared to do. He said, characteristically, that as National Security Adviser he would be an information "coordinator" rather than a policy "advocate."

DAVID HUME KENNERLY

McFarlane

McFarlane took charge right away. At 8 on the morning after his appointment, McFarlane was at a meeting of the senior White House staff—for all of Clark's team-player reputation, he attended the staff conferences desultorily—then whisked into the Oval Office to give the President his regular defense-and-diplomacy briefing. That afternoon, he moderated an hourlong National Security Council meeting on Middle East policy.

The impression was one of smoothness, earnest professionalism, clarity of purpose. Would that U.S. foreign policy were nearly so confident and focused. In fact, the politicking that led to McFarlane's appointment made it clear that the officials who shape foreign policy are divided by chronic personal and ideological disputes. Those rifts have reappeared, diverting the principals' energies at a particularly volatile, complicated moment for U.S. interests abroad. Lebanon is threatening to explode again in the wake of the devastating attack on U.S. Marines. Combat is also intensifying in Central America, drawing the U.S. more deeply into local conflicts. A coup in Grenada by the radical left resulted in a U.S. fleet's being moved toward that Caribbean island last week, to be ready to protect U.S. citizens there. All the while, relations with the Soviet Union remain edgy: the moment of truth in arms control is only weeks away, with the Soviets threatening to retaliate in kind when NATO begins deploying medium-range missiles, and to walk out of arms negotiations. A quarter of the NATO cruise missiles are to be based in Sicily, and after Reagan's two-hour White House talk last week with Italy's Socialist Prime Minister, Bettino Craxi, both men said they remained committed to installing the first missiles before Christmas.

Obviously, the Administration needs some precise, sophisticated policy teamwork right away. During the two days that the National Security Adviser job was nominally open, however, the Administration's main foreign policy players were more a fractious group of political competitors than a team. United Nations Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick was led to believe that she had a shot at becoming National Security Adviser, and wound up feeling terribly ill used, even double-crossed (*see following story*). If she had got the critical appointment, TIME has learned, Secretary of State George Shultz would have been inclined to quit, and he made sure the White House knew it.

The triumph of the White House

At his first press conference in three months, President Reagan was asked mainly about foreign

"pragmatists" in getting the NSC post for McFarlane rather than Kirkpatrick staggered the Republican right. Edwin Feulner, president of the conservative Heritage Foundation, gave up all hope of pushing policy rightward. Said he: "This is the ball game." Yet there are innings left, and it must be remembered that the teams on the Reagan Administration field, after all, are the Conservatives and the Ultra-Conservatives. McFarlane is no dove. The career military man wrote the exceptionally hard-line defense planks of the 1980 G.O.P. party platform.

Moreover, the President and his aides were trying to counter the suspicion that they plan shifts in foreign policy, which under Reagan has lurched right and left, forward and back. The upcoming campaign should redouble the Administration's desire for quiet continuity. At his press conference last week, the first since July, Reagan was asked mainly about foreign policy. "We're going to keep on doing what we have been doing," he said to a question about Lebanon. He seemed even more bent on staying the course, tricky as it is, in Central America. Said a Reagan aide: "The basic policies are set."

In the Middle East, of course, the basic policies are supporting Israel, nurturing a tenuous Lebanese reconciliation and checking the ambitions of Soviet-armed Syria. The last two goals directly involve the presence of the 1,600 Marines on "peace-keeping" duty around Beirut International Airport.

Yet it is in the Middle East that the U.S.'s goals may be most realistic and its approach most flexible. Indeed, the NSC meeting on McFarlane's first full day on the job was part of an overall review of the Administration's Middle East policy, "a mind-stretching set of discussions," in the words of one White House aide. "There were no decisions," said another. "There weren't even options on the table."

But options, none attractive, are under discussion. Even before Sunday's carnage in Beirut, there were indications that Reagan may soon permit the Marines to leave their bunkers to root out the snipers firing on them. More generally, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and others are urging some conciliation toward Syria, while a group in the State Department wants Israeli troops back on the Lebanese front lines. What happens if Iran, in its war against Iraq, carries out its threat to block the Strait of Hormuz, the oil shipping lane to the Persian Gulf? The West, Reagan said last week, would not allow it.

policy, and answered, "We're going to keep on doing what we have been doing"

And on another part of the Middle East chessboard, the Administration was forging ahead with its $220 million plan to equip two Jordanian army brigades as a "mobile strike force," despite Israeli and congressional complaints. Indeed, last week it was disclosed that U.S. Special Forces have been secretly training the strike force since 1981. One motive for the military largesse is to lure Jordan into the Middle East peace process.

That process is a fitful one. The scheduled "national reconciliation" talks between the Lebanese government and factional leaders, set to begin last Thursday at the Beirut airport, were canceled, then tentatively rescheduled for this week in Geneva—a considerably more secure site, as Sunday's bombings grimly confirmed. The four-week-old truce in Lebanon seemed to be ever more fragile, as each army and armed gang used the respite to rebuild spent arsenals. Last week the Administration was becoming convinced that Syria has decided its best bet for preserving its leverage over the country is to wait for Marine casualties to mount and the U.S. to pull out. "The Syrians are dragging their feet," Reagan said at his midweek press conference. "If they're doing it with the idea of wearing me down, they're going to be disappointed." He had no idea, of course, just how much U.S. patience would be tested in the days ahead.

Kirkpatrick

In Central America, at least, U.S. troops are not taking casualties. But the proximity of El Salvador and Nicaragua and the assertiveness of U.S. actions there make the stakes high. There is no pretense of neutral peace keeping, and domestic opposition to policy in the isthmus is specific and persistent. "I believe there is a sharp difference between what the Administration is doing in Lebanon and what it is trying to do in Nicaragua," pronounced House Speaker Tip O'Neill. "In Lebanon, it is supporting a government. In Nicaragua, it is trying to overthrow one. The United States should not be engaged militarily in trying to overthrow other governments."

A majority of his colleagues evidently agree. Last week the House, voting 227 to 194, passed an amendment to the intelligence bill that would prohibit further funding of the disparate terrorist groups fighting against Nicaragua's Marxist-led Sandinista government. The Administration wanted $50 million for the several small armies based in border areas of Honduras and Costa Rica. In a letter to O'Neill, Secretary Shultz pleaded for continued funding, arguing that regular attacks by the U.S.-backed *contra* guerrillas in Nicaragua provide essential pressure on the Sandinistas to cut back their support of Marxist guerrillas in El Salvador.

At Puerto Corinto on Nicaragua's Pacific coast, a strategic fuel depot destroyed by a boatload of CIA-backed *contra* terrorists using 20-mm cannon

The *contras* admit they seek the overthrow of the Sandinistas, but the Reagan Administration still claims that the CIA aid is intended only to distract the Nicaraguans from aiding the Salvadoran insurgents. The amendment passed by the House last week provides $50 million strictly for such arms interdiction by "friendly" Central American countries.

There is some muted opposition within the Administration to underwriting the ultimately uncontrollable *contra* forces. Assistant Secretary of State Langhorne A. Motley, who just returned from talks with the Sandinista leaders, said that aiding the *contras* "may be counterproductive." But Reagan defended the "covert" military aid last week. "I do believe in the right of a country," Reagan said, "when it believes that its interests are best served, to practice covert activity." Critics find that principle ironic, if not hypocritical, since it would mean that Nicaragua has a national right to continue its covert aid to rebels in El Salvador.

Nevertheless, the G.O.P.-controlled Senate is expected to approve funds for the *contras* in its intelligence budget bill, after which the House and Senate will try to reach an agreement in conference committee. But any compromise will be unusually difficult, because the issue seems an all-or-nothing question; simply reducing the funds would dissatisfy everyone. Adolfo Calero, the new, CIA-sponsored head of the 10,000-man Nicaraguan Democratic Force (F.D.N.), was in Washington last week lobbying for more *contra* money, but said haughtily that a congressional cutoff would not matter: he claimed that covert U.S. aid, somehow "laundered," would continue regardless.

The *contras* in the bush are apparently now operating under more CIA coordination than ever. In an interview with TIME in Managua last week, Roberto Amador Narvaez, the deputy commander of the F.D.N. air force who was captured three weeks ago, claimed that a middle-aged former Green Beret runs the *contra* air operations from Honduras. During the past two weeks, with explicit CIA encouragement, the guerrillas made their most spectacular attacks so far, destroying three important oil-port facilities and at least 3.4 million gallons of vital fuel. Last week in the mountain town of Pantasma, an attacking force of 250 F.D.N. fighters killed 46 police and local militia, and pillaged agricultural cooperatives, sawmills, grocery stores, homes and a bank.

The Sandinistas appear shaken. The coming weeks, before the war grows still bigger and bloodier, may be the optimal time for the U.S. to begin serious negotiations with Nicaragua. Last week, in fact, Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann personally delivered a set of four new, very specific draft agreements to the State Department. Among other proposals, Nicaragua offered to stop supporting Salvadoran guerrillas and to forbid any Cuban or Soviet military bases on its soil. In return, the U.S. would have to end its support of the *contra* guerrillas and shut down its training facilities in Honduras and El Salvador. The U.S. scorned the proposals, but officials privately sounded hopeful.

In January, the Henry Kissinger–led commission on Central America, which is just back from a one-country-a-day tour of the region, will give its recommendations to the President. The commission's stop in El Salvador may have been the most significant: leaving his talks with the Americans, Roberto d'Aubuisson, the right-wing President of the Constituent Assembly, freely acknowledged that right-wing death squads, now resurgent and responsible for at least 100 killings a week, are often commanded by Salvadoran government soldiers. Back in Washington at week's end, Kissinger and company met with Calero and with Guillermo Ungo, the political leader of El Salvador's rebel coalition.

The bipartisan Kissinger group, the White House hopes, will pound out a working consensus on Central American policy. But optimism is not rampant. Kissinger said that close up, the situation looked "far graver than most of us had expected." Democratic Representative Michael Barnes traveled with the commission. "I'm very depressed," he said, because events "seem headed almost inexorably toward a regional war."

The Administration's steely Latin policy has primarily been the doing of Clark and Kirkpatrick. Now the clout of both is diminished. No liberal conspiracy has subverted President Reagan, but the Administration's moderates have indeed moved toward control of foreign policymaking. True, Weinberger, an unswerving hawk and Reagan intimate, remains feisty and powerful. But Clark will not be lumbering into the Oval Office every day, instinctively pushing Cap's and Kirkpatrick's schemes. The flow of ideas into the White House under McFarlane, a cool technocrat, will surely be more orderly, and perhaps more balanced.

The conventional wisdom holds that Shultz is the bureaucratic winner. Up to now, he has been reluctant to enter the political fray, seldom advocating tough policy positions within the Administration. He has been a reassuring gray eminence, radiating sobriety and good sense. Now the Secretary of State has no rival stationed at the White House whom he has to outmaneuver. With U.S. entanglements around the world unusually complex and dangerous, it is a good time for George Shultz to step out front—and maybe even make some waves. —***By Kurt Andersen. Reported by Douglas Brew and Gregory H. Wierzynski/Washington***

Feelings of Hurt and Betrayal

Kirkpatrick suspects she was done in by her friends

When U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, who had been accompanying the Kissinger Commission in Central America, flew to Washington for a speaking engagement two weeks ago, she had no indication that a major staff change was about to take place. National Security Adviser William Clark said nothing about it when they met at the White House, and it was only because she had a bad bronchial infection that she canceled her return to Latin America. She did not hear about her trusted colleague's nomination as Interior Secretary until an aide called the following day.

Thus began a process that, at least in the eyes of the proud and prickly U.N. Ambassador, TIME has learned, laid bare the backbiting and power struggles within the White House. Kirkpatrick was not upset primarily by her failure to be tapped for the National Security Council (NSC) post. But she now views what happened to her as a shabby betrayal by people she considered friends within the Administration. Whether or not the slights she perceives were in fact intended, her experience provides a glimpse of the personal rivalries that have long undermined Ronald Reagan's policymaking apparatus and of the human toll such struggles exact.

When Clark finally called her to tell of his move, Kirkpatrick urged him to reconsider. She feared there would be no one left in the Administration with clout enough to pull together American policy around the globe. Secretary of State George Shultz, she felt, was too absorbed in international economic policy, East-West issues and crisis management in the Middle East to develop strategy elsewhere. Until now, she and her hard-line allies, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and CIA Director William Casey, had been able to fill the gap, but only because Clark listened to them—and Reagan listened to him.

Although he later let it be known that he had sought the Interior job, Clark told Kirkpatrick that he was simply doing what the President asked. He assured her that there would be no ill effects on policy if she were to succeed him at the NSC. It was an idea seconded by Casey, when he called the same evening.

Kirkpatrick had not at that point harbored any real hope of taking over at the NSC. A few months before, noticing that Clark seemed overburdened, she had offered to give up her U.N. post and come to Washington as his deputy. He had turned the suggestion aside, adding that she might become National Security Adviser if he ever quit. Just before she left for Central America, Clark confided that he was tired of the disagreements with Shultz. The NSC job was taxing his health, and he wanted her to succeed him. But she filed these conversations away as idle speculations.

Senior White House aides say that Clark in reality never thought Kirkpatrick was the most suitable replacement. All along, Clark's deputy Robert McFarlane was considered by most of Reagan's advisers, and even by Reagan, as the obvious choice. But as in other foreign policy personnel disputes during the past three years, Reagan allowed the uncertainty to linger and leak. What should have been a clean change of command became another running story—similar to the one that accompanied the departure of Secretary of State Alexander Haig—of struggles between Administration pragmatists and ideologues. The recriminations from the dispute are still reverberating. "Those who fought McFarlane," says one consummate White House infighter, "did not help themselves."

As the President delayed announcing his choice, the maneuvering among his aides quickened. Kirkpatrick was too ill to attend a White House foreign policy meeting, and Clark phoned her afterward to reveal that a new succession plan had been discussed. Chief of Staff James Baker and Presidential Assistant Michael Deaver seized the opportunity to propose a radical plan that would have made them the undisputed joint czars of the White House staff: Baker would take the NSC job and Deaver would become chief of staff. Clark immediately opposed the move, arguing that the President's motives would be suspect since Baker was his top political adviser and had no foreign policy experience. Weinberger and Casey strongly agreed. Moreover, Reagan's more conservative supporters considered Baker the leader of the pragmatists, and hence evil incarnate.

The strongest opposition to Kirkpatrick came from Shultz. He implied to a few associates that he would resign if she got the NSC post, and that word was passed to the White House. But the question in the minds of the White House staff soon became not whether Kirkpatrick would get the job, but how to assuage her disappointment about her loss to McFarlane and the decline of her influence now that Clark was gone.

Kirkpatrick had expressed her frustrations with the U.N. and the need to commute to New York City from her home near Washington. But in seeking to let her down gently about not getting the NSC job, White House aides gave her the impression that they wanted to oust her from the U.N. post. When Clark called to say that McFarlane would be appointed, he told Kirkpatrick that she had three alternatives: becoming the Deputy National Security Adviser, taking over the Agency for International Development, or coming into the White House as a Presidential Counsellor, a title now held only by Edwin Meese. She quickly rejected these options, feeling that without a base of power she would be easily bypassed by Shultz and McFarlane.

Meese was also uncomfortable with the idea of bringing Kirkpatrick in as a Counsellor, feeling that the new post would dilute his own power and title. So too were McFarlane and Shultz. But others tried to persuade her to take a job in Washington. Casey called and asked if he could come by for a drink. Pulling herself from her sickbed, Kirkpatrick drove to a pharmacy for a cold remedy and then received the CIA director at her Bethesda, Md., home. He urged her to take the Counsellor's job. Weinberger talked to her on the phone for an hour the next morning trying to persuade her to become McFarlane's deputy. She told them both no. As a close friend later put it, "What would she do at national security briefings? Chime in and correct McFarlane?"

Kirkpatrick was invited to meet with the President on Monday before his announcement of McFarlane's appointment. Clark, apparently wishing to keep the encounter secret, suggested that she use the diplomatic entrance, where the press was

not allowed. She refused, saying that she would enter the White House publicly as she always had. In contrast to the chilly dealings she had been having with most of his staff, the hourlong meeting with Reagan was friendly. He offered her the Counsellor's title or another Washington job, and again she refused. But he seemed genuinely eager to have her stay on at the U.N. if she wanted. She promised him that she would wait until the end of the year to reassess her position.

What most upset Kirkpatrick, upon her return to her official residence in the Waldorf Towers in New York, was the implication of White House aides that she would be leaving the U.N. Although many no doubt thought they were accommodating her own expressed wishes, the feisty Kirkpatrick viewed their urgings that she "move" to Washington as an attempt to remove her from her job. "Why 'move' to Washington?" a friend quotes her as saying. "Don't they know I live there?"

She was particularly upset by a story in the Washington *Times* by Reporter Jeremiah O'Leary, a former aide to Clark, that said Baker might take over her U.N. post. (If the story was indeed intentionally planted, it seemed aimed at undermining both Baker and Kirkpatrick, since such a scenario would require that she be fired and he be moved from the White House.) Baker termed the story "baloney" and Clark called to deny it, but Kirkpatrick now fears that she is being humiliated through the press like others who have been unceremoniously dumped from power. Her speculations about the motives of those spreading such stories have become quite byzantine: perhaps they want to maneuver Jim Baker out of the White House, or to signal a shift to a more moderate foreign policy prior to an election year. There was no evidence that there was in fact any serious desire in the White House to ease her out of her job; by week's end senior aides had concluded that her determination to stay at the U.N. was best for all concerned.

Feeling harassed and still popping cold pills, Kirkpatrick last week lamented that her sense of propriety had been violated—not only by her detractors but also by those she once thought were friends. She feels that she has been too "trusting," and confides to intimates that she now knows how Alexander Haig, once her archenemy, must have felt when he was forced out. To her mind, the only person above suspicion is the President, whom she considers a decent man, largely unaware of his staff's manipulative ways. Yet when an aide last week told her that the President's press conference was on television, she turned away, as if not wanting to be reminded of the pain he had unwittingly caused. She said she never watches television, and asked the aide to tell her if anything important came up. —*By Walter Isaacson.*

Reported by Laurence I. Barrett and Gregory H. Wierzynski/Washington

Secret Service guns cover the President's car after the hostage scare

Wanting to Talk to Reagan

For the President, a weekend that was twice not to be

Hello, this is the President. This is Ronald Reagan. I understand you want to talk to me. Would you talk to me? This is the President. If you are hearing me, will you please tell me, and we can have that talk that you want.

The situation was bizarre. In a minor incident whose initial form was to be echoed large half a world away a few hours later, a lone driver had rammed his truck through the gates of Georgia's Augusta National Golf Club, site of the Masters Tournament. Reagan had been playing the par-three, water-guarded 16th hole under cloudy skies with two Cabinet officers and a former Senator. Now he was seated in a Secret Service car parked near the 16th green trying to talk by radiotelephone to the driver holding hostages in the famed club's pro shop, some 1,000 yards away. The pistol-carrying man had already fired one shot into the floor and was threatening to kill anyone who did not cooperate. But although he had demanded a chance to talk to Reagan, he insisted on doing so face-to-face. The sometimes incoherent man kept hanging up on the President.

Clearly, Reagan was in no danger. But if he had completed two more of the 18 holes, either he or his Secret Service guards might have confronted the emotional intruder near the clubhouse. The gunman, Charles R. Harris, 44, a millwright from Blythe, Ga., had rammed his blue four-wheel-drive pickup truck through a locked gate at 2:15 p.m.

Harris drove a few hundred feet to the pro shop and entered. There he waved his .38-cal. snub-nosed pistol at two White House aides, David Fischer, a special assistant who travels regularly with the President, and Lanny Wiles, an advanceman. Harris ordered the pair as well as three other men into a back room. "This is no joke," he warned. "Somebody could be killed." Fischer convinced him that since the President was out on the course, Fischer would have to go deliver Harris' message himself.

Once freed, Fischer caught up with the presidential foursome, which included Secretary of State George Shultz, Treasury Secretary Donald Regan and former New Jersey Senator Nicholas Brady. Fischer briefed Reagan, who decided to telephone the gunman through the Secret Service radiotelephone link. When Harris kept refusing to say a word to Reagan on the telephone, the President's security aides urged him to get into a heavily guarded limousine. Ten agents followed his limo in an open car, brandishing Uzi submachine guns. The caravan returned the President to Eisenhower Cabin, a white-columned six-bedroom house from which Ike, while President, had often played the pine-studded course

Harris began to release the other hostages. He surrendered to local police without resistance at 4:36 p.m. The gunman, who had demanded whisky during the afternoon, appeared drunk when he was taken into custody, and was given a Breathalyzer test. The FBI joined in the interrogation, seeking a motive for his all too desperate attempt to confront the President.

WATERS CHRON-C.C.HERALD

Harris in custody

The Reagan party promptly resumed its weekend stay in the Eisenhower Cabin, only to have it irrevocably cut short scant hours later by the news from Beirut. ■

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A National Holiday for King

But not without rancor

King's widow Coretta and son meeting with Senators after a vote of rare solemnity and honor

President Reagan apologized, but his stand seemed simultaneously mushy and offensive.

All 100 Senators were present for the vote. Vice President George Bush made one of his extremely rare appearances to preside, though there was not the remotest chance he would have to break a tie. Rather, the upper chamber was acting with all possible solemnity to confer an honor previously granted to only one American citizen, George Washington. As the honoree's widow watched proudly from the gallery, the Senate voted 78 to 22 to establish the third Monday of January, beginning in 1986, as a national holiday commemorating the birthday of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

The high moment could not, however, erase the memory of a squalid scene the day before. New Right Republican Jesse Helms of North Carolina had resurrected the old smear that King was a Communist sympathizer, setting off a shouting tumult in which other legislators broke Senate rules to impugn Helms' motives. Then, only hours after the Senate vote had seemingly put an end to the controversy, Ronald Reagan needlessly started it anew. At his Wednesday night news conference, the President defended Helms' "sincerity" even as he pledged to sign the holiday bill. Leading Democrats quickly demanded that Reagan disavow Helms.

The notes of rancor were doubly distressing because the new holiday is intended to symbolize the commitment of all Americans to racial equality. Bills to establish King's birthday (which actually is Jan. 15) as a national holiday had been introduced in every session of Congress since the charismatic minister was assassinated in 1968, and just as regularly sidetracked. Opponents questioned whether King or anyone else should be granted an honor never conferred on Lincoln or Jefferson. But blacks have been registering to vote in numbers that hardly any politician can continue to ignore, and the holiday had become an issue of enormous symbolic significance. In August the House voted for the idea, 338 to 90.

Senate action was held up when Helms threatened a filibuster. Then he sued in federal court to open the "raw files" of an FBI investigation of King (partly conducted by means of wiretaps) that had been sealed until the year 2027. Though Helms claimed he wanted to know what the tapes might say about King's association with Communism, Helms' critics suspected that he was most interested in what the FBI had learned about King's active private life; the late FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, who hated King, had planted many of his bugs under hotel beds. After the court denied his motion, Helms resumed the attack on the Senate floor.

Helms: echo of McCarthy

Helms complained, accurately, that the bill had been rushed to the floor without committee hearings. He also grumbled about the cost, which he grandiosely put at $12 billion. The actual cost of a tenth national holiday* is difficult to calculate. The Congressional Budget Office estimates the Federal Government would have to pay a mere $18 million in premium wages for employees who are called in to work. Some estimates put the price tag for state and local governments at $692 million and for private businesses at $4.3 billion; those figures assume they all close for the day, which they are not legally obligated to do.

Helms' principal argument was an ugly echo of the McCarthy era. "There is no evidence that Martin Luther King was a member of the Communist Party," said Helms, but his associations "strongly suggest that King harbored a strong sympathy for the Communist Party and its goals." Helms recalled that Robert Kennedy, during the Administration of his older brother, had authorized FBI wiretaps on King, and Helms told Ted Kennedy of Massachusetts that the Senator's "argument is with his dead brother who was President and his dead brother who was Attorney General."

Face red with fury, Kennedy shouted: "I am appalled at this attempt to misappropriate the memory of my brother[s] . . . If Robert Kennedy were alive today, he would be the first person to say that Hoover's reckless campaign against Martin Luther King was a shame and a blot on American history."

*The existing nine are New Year's Day, Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, Independence Day, Labor Day, Columbus Day, Veterans Day, Thanksgiving and Christmas

New York Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan theatrically slammed to the floor a packet of materials assembled by Helms, proclaiming it "filth." New Jersey Democrat Bill Bradley voiced openly a common suspicion that Helms was trying to inflame racial antagonism in order to win white votes in his re-election campaign next year. Helms, said the normally mild-mannered Bradley, "is playing up to old Jim Crow and all of us know it."

But Reagan, asked at his news conference if he agreed that King had Communist sympathies, replied with inexcusable flippancy (and mathematical inaccuracy): "We'll know in about 35 years, won't we?" He added that "I don't fault Senator Helms' sincerity with regard to wanting the records opened up." And while he praised King's "accomplishments" in combatting "a discrimination that was pretty foreign to what is normal with us," he said he would have preferred a day of remembrance to the holiday.

Reagan later telephoned King's widow Coretta to apologize for remarks that he said had been a "mistake." At the same time, however, the White House confirmed an exchange of letters between Reagan and former Republican Governor Meldrim Thomson of New Hampshire. Thomson said a holiday for King would honor a man "of immoral character whose frequent associations with leading agents of Communism is well established." Reagan wrote back that "I have the same reservations you have, but here the perception of too many people is based on image, not reality."

The best possible interpretation—and it is not very good—is that Reagan was trying simultaneously to mollify his right-wing supporters and reassure black and white proponents of equal rights that he is sympathetic to their concerns. If so, he blew it badly with both. He wound up with a stand that the far right found mushy and blacks considered offensive. —***By George J. Church. Reported by Neil MacNeil/Washington***

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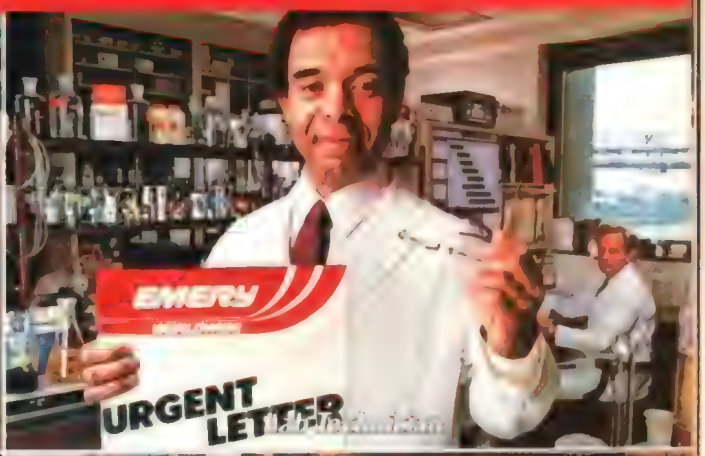
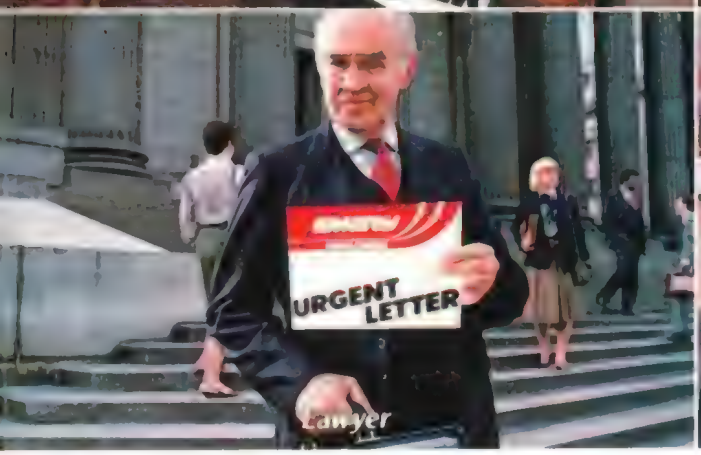
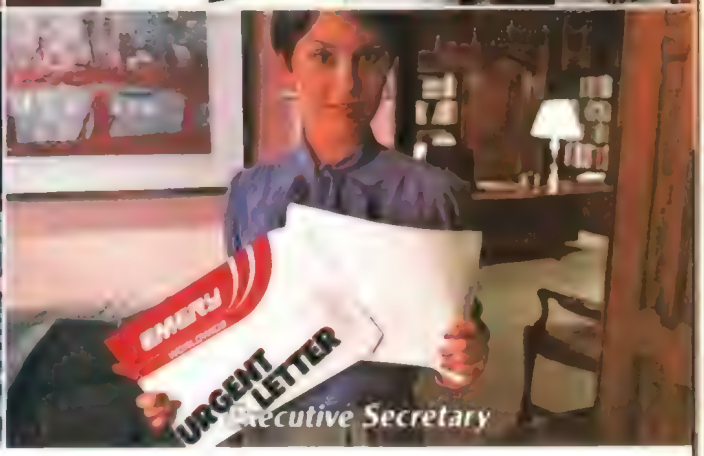
The Emery Urgent Letter.







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Battling over Bottom Lines

It's the Pentagon vs. *Congress*

The star witness before the House Budget Committee was Franklin ("Chuck") Spinney, the dogged Defense Department analyst who testified last February that weapon costs were being seriously underestimated and that the skyrocketing prices of sophisticated systems threatened to explode the military budget. At the time, the Pentagon protested that the whistle-blowing bureaucrat had ignored the effects of Reagan's cost-control initiatives. Budget Committee Chairman James R. Jones of Oklahoma consequently asked the Pentagon to have Spinney revise his projections in the light of the latest cost-control reforms. Said Jones in opening last week's hearing: "I'm anxious to hear how his analysis applies to the present situation."

Jones and his colleagues were in for a shock. "I should make it clear for the record that my presentation will not include any new data," said Spinney. "I beg your pardon?" exclaimed an incredulous Jones. "We specifically asked for updating in our letter to the Secretary of Defense." But the military hierarchy, it seemed, had not passed on the Budget Committee's request to Spinney, who after his February performance had been shifted to another assignment. (In fact, the Pentagon bureaucracy has introduced a new classification for data that are not to be shown to Spinney: NOSPIN.)

Spinney's boss David Chu sought to rationalize the Defense Department's refusal to comply with Congress's request. "The concerns I have are with the techniques employed [by Spinney] and with the ability of a single individual to understand the implications of what's happening," Chu said. Fumed Jones: "This sort of suppression of people who are trying to get a better return on the defense dollar does not serve the public interest." The House Budget Committee chairman again demanded that Spinney be allowed to present a fresh analysis.

Spinney at the House Budget Committee
Not allowed to update his briefing.

This dustup came as the House was working on its version of the fiscal 1984 Defense budget, which in theory was to have been wrapped up and in effect on Oct. 1. The $263 billion package contains $247 billion for the Department of Defense and $16 billion of military monies in other budget bills. The House approved funds for the nation's first 21 MX missiles and for the B-1 bomber but voted against producing chemical weaponry that had been requested by the Administration. On the Senate side, legislators voted in favor of the new chemical weapons, and will probably appropriate $2 billion more for the military. Even so, both versions of the bill are below the $274 billion requested by the Administration for 1984, and the likely compromise package between the two houses will represent a spending increase over fiscal 1983 of only about 5% more than the inflation rate.

All of which merely sets a more contentious stage for the next battle. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, undaunted by the congressional cuts for 1984, proposed last week to forge ahead with the Administration's goal of spending $1.9 trillion for defense during the next five years. For fiscal 1985 the Pentagon package includes $322.5 billion in military requests, which would be about 23% higher than the 1984 budget now being worked on by Congress. Moreover, the Secretary's 1985 request may get some heat from White House aides and the Office of Management and Budget, even before it is run up to Capitol Hill. But Weinberger intends to push for the higher levels of spending rather than try to move toward a conciliatory, bipartisan spending approach early on in the game. ■

Starry Blueprint

The idea is certainly appealing. All of the murderous megatonnage of those fearsome intercontinental ballistic missiles would be rendered useless. The Soviet Union launches a surprise nuclear attack? Zap! U.S. laser beams from outer space blast the enemy booster rockets out of Soviet skies before they can dispatch their multiple warheads on long lethal flights to the U.S.

When President Reagan gave that comforting concept vast publicity and his ardent support in his Star Wars speech last March, many scientists complained that the President was far too optimistic about the state of their wondrous arts. Arms-control experts warned that holding out such panaceas diverted attention from the painful chore of negotiating agreements to reduce nuclear weapons. The development of defensive systems, they said, could touch off another arms race, this one in space, and possibly even entice an enemy to attack before the weapons were fully operational.

But in the Government Reagan heads, his endorsement had a galvanizing effect. Two separate groups of experts went to work to examine the feasibility of such futuristic antimissile systems. Last week their recommendations to proceed were put together by an interagency task force bearing the endorsement of Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and outgoing National Security Adviser William Clark. The proposals then went to the Oval Office and became public, apparently even before the President had read them.

Aviation Week & Space Technology Military Editor Clarence Robinson compiled a summary of the report, which in essence is a blueprint for development of advanced ballistic-missile defense systems. It estimates that a comprehensive system with various components based both in space and on the ground could be deployed some time after the year 2000 at a cost of about $95 billion. The defensive net would employ lasers, particle beams and shotgun-like pellets to destroy, in theory at least, Soviet ICBMs any time between their launch and their re-entry into the atmosphere. The enemy missile attack would be detected by a mix of land- and space-based electronic surveillance systems.

The Weinberger-Clark report stresses the desirability of at least a demonstration of U.S. capability in advanced anti-missile expertise to "alter the Star Wars fantasy, establish the credibility and then the reality of defensive technologies."

The report sketches a timetable under which various tests could begin "by the early 1990s," thereby showing the Soviet leaders that the U.S. is serious about such plans. It suggests that spending should be included in the fiscal 1985 budget, now in preparation by the Administration, and would require $27 billion from 1985 through 1989. Development of a less complete system could begin in 1985 at a five-year cost of $18 billion.

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☐ **OR, choose a child that needs my help from your EMERGENCY LIST.**

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For Love of Money and Adventure

The FBI cracks a case of missile secrets, a mole and a windfall

If it were the plot of a Le Carré thriller, the story might be dismissed as a mass of melodramatic clichés. But it happened in real life, and as related in the flat legalistic prose of an FBI affidavit filed in federal court in San Francisco and from the account of a West Coast lawyer, it goes like this: An American engineer who already had sold some low-grade U.S. defense secrets to Polish intelligence marries an alcoholic secretary who has one thing he needs: a security clearance to handle truly valuable documents. Before the wedding, she lets her husband-to-be into her office at a Silicon Valley defense subcontracting firm late at night and on weekends. He removes masses of papers and photocopies them in her modest two-bedroom, one-bath apartment near by. In June 1980, he flies to Warsaw with his hottest copies.

SAN JOSE MERCURY NEWS

AP

Water seeped into the papers while they were stashed away by the engineer-spy, so the pages are wet and stuck together. A team of Polish technicians works through the night to clean them up. The next day, 20 KGB agents who fly in from Moscow to inspect the documents at the Soviet embassy in Warsaw cannot contain their excitement: the papers provide details of a U.S. research-and-development project to protect the Minuteman arsenal from destruction by a Soviet nuclear strike. KGB Chief (now Soviet President) Yuri Andropov personally signs a letter of commendation to the Polish officials orchestrating the deal, who summon the American engineer back to Poland in September for his payment. The spy gets a thousand $100 bills stuffed into an envelope. Later payments bring the sum to more than $250,000.

The spy socks away his money, partly in banks in the Cayman Islands, and lives quietly in the apartment in Mountain View, Calif. But in September 1981, he seeks out an American attorney and arranges to meet him in a piano bar called The Fling. Identifying himself only as "Jay," the engineer starts telling his story over Bloody Marys and proposes a deal: if the attorney, William Dougherty, can win a promise of immunity from the U.S. Government, the engineer will turn double agent and pass information on Polish-KGB espionage to the American CIA.

Dougherty contacts CIA authorities about Jay, but it turns out they already know part of the story. A mole in Polish intelligence has told them about the sale of Minuteman secrets by "an American businessman." The CIA puts questions to Jay through Attorney Dougherty and receives answers that dovetail with the mole's account. Following up clues provided by the mole and unwittingly corroborated by Dougherty, the FBI comes up with a name for Jay: James Durward Harper Jr.

The FBI secures a court order to tap Harper's telephone. Unable to win immunity, Harper makes remarks to friends, overheard by FBI agents, indicating that he is about to return to Poland and sell an additional 150 lbs. or so of copied documents he still has stashed away. On Oct. 15, Harper is arrested; it is only two days later that Attorney Dougherty learns from the FBI the real name of his client Jay.

Enough cloak-and-dagger skulduggery? Wait, there may be more. Harper is being held without bail for a hearing Oct. 27. If convicted of espionage, he faces life imprisonment. If Harper talks some more, the big question is what he might say about William B. Hugle, an engineer-businessman in his late 50s who founded several Silicon Valley electronics firms.

Hugle is named in the FBI affidavit as the man who first introduced Harper to Polish intelligence officials and was cut in on a deal under which Hugle allegedly was to get a third of the money paid by the Poles for the theft of U.S. defense secrets (the Poles, however, according to the affidavit, later told Harper they would prefer to bypass Hugle and deal with Harper directly). Attorney Dougherty says that Harper has been "scared to death that Hugle would kill him." Hugle has been charged with nothing; he is testifying before a grand jury in the San Francisco area but has been silent publicly. The other principal in the tale, Harper's second wife Ruby Louise Schuler, died in June of cirrhosis of the liver.

Harper, when he appeared in federal court in San Francisco last week, cut an appropriately nondescript figure. He is 49, about 5 ft. 10 in., has thinning brown hair that curls into gray sideburns, and displays a paunch. He is an electrical engineer who does mostly freelance work. Dougherty describes him as the kind of spy who is motivated by a simple desire for "money and adventure."

According to the FBI affidavit, Harper in 1975 was introduced by Hugle, whom he called "the Big Man," to Polish intelligence officials. Hugle is described by one associate as "a good guy at putting deals together." The Poles had a portion of a "shopping list" of secrets that the Soviet KGB wanted, and still wants, to buy. The master list is said never to leave Moscow. Harper in 1975 turned over items of U.S. technological information. But they apparently were relatively minor: he was paid no more than $7,500 for them.

Harper seemingly let his Polish contacts lie fallow for four years. One reason may have been that he lacked a security clearance. In 1978, however, he separated from his first wife Colleen, whom he eventually divorced, and in 1980 he married Schuler, then 36, whom he later described to friends as an alcoholic and anorectic. Despite those problems, Schuler, who was divorced and childless, worked as a secretary at Systems Control, Inc., a company involved in research for the U.S. Air Force's missile program. She had a "se-

Principals in the tale: James Harper, top, the late Ruby Schuler, and William Hugle; the Palo Alto offices of Systems Control from which secrets were stolen

cret" security clearance. Shortly before her death, in a telephone conversation with a friend that FBI agents listened in on, she said: "There was a reason that Jim and I got married that only he and I know. I can't tell you or anyone else, and I never will."

By 1979, the FBI reported, Harper and Hugle were in contact with a Pole whom Harper knew by the code name of "the Minister." His real name is Zdzislaw Pryzchodzien. According to the mole, he is an official of the Polish Ministry of Machine Industry, but actually is an operative of the Polish intelligence agency, SB, which works closely with the Soviet KGB. They met in October 1979 in an apartment in Vienna that, the FBI affidavit quotes Harper as saying, "the Big Man [Hugle] assured us was not bugged." Harper handed over a 1-in. stack of papers consisting of the title pages, tables of contents and first chapters of documents he had copied, as a kind of sample of what he had to sell. After ascertaining that the KGB would pay handsomely for the actual documents, the Pole invited Harper to the meeting in Warsaw in June 1980.

Back in the U.S., Harper and Schuler continued to live modestly. Whatever his motive in contacting Dougherty—repentance, fear, a desire to raise the stakes by playing double agent, or some mixture of all three—he picked the attorney's name out of a book that correctly identified Dougherty as having represented Christopher Boyce, who was convicted of selling secrets to the Soviets.

Harper seems never to have realized that the FBI was closing in on him. In telephone conversations overheard by FBI agents on his tapped phone, he bragged indiscreetly to friends that he had enough money so that he would never have to work another day in his life, and moreover that he paid no taxes on his wealth. He also spoke of going back to Europe to attend to "two very serious business problems . . . I've been putting off for damn near two years." The trip, which federal agents presume was designed to sell more secrets, apparently was delayed by a new romance; after Schuler died, Harper in September married Penny Cook in Nevada. Still, the feds were nervous and moved in to make the arrest.

BEN MARTIN

Dougherty

A good deal of damage, however, had been done. The FBI affidavit asserts that Harper had access to documents that would give the Poles and the KGB "a windfall of intelligence information about the capabilities of our strategic forces and our present and future plans to defend them." Their value: "beyond calculation." —*By George J. Church. Reported by Dick Thompson/San Francisco*

Making Government Clam Up

Reagan's leak rules open a fierce debate about censorship

Willard: no reason need be required

The Administration's latest effort to clamp a lid on Government secrets would have been a secret in itself if its designers could have had their way. A national security directive authorizing wider use of lie detectors to plug leaks and ordering senior federal officials to clear speeches and articles about classified topics for the rest of their lives was signed by President Reagan late on a Friday last March. That is when bureaucrats head home for the weekend and Washington correspondents relax their vigilance. When the order was discovered by reporters—Congress had been given no advance notice—Justice Department officials belittled its significance. The polygraphs would be applied sparingly, they said, and the censorship agreements would affect only about 1,000 of the highest-level employees.

Oh really? Last week Texas Democrat Jack Brooks, chairman of the House Government Operations Committee, held hearings on the order. Richard K. Willard, a deputy assistant attorney general who headed the interagency panel that drew up the directive, admitted that he could not dispute a report by the General Accounting Office that at least 113,000 employees, not 1,000, would be covered by the future censorship agreements that were originally touted as applying only to an elite.

Willard conceded that the order would permit the head of any federal agency to require all his employees holding security clearances to submit to lie detectors on a random basis, whenever an unauthorized disclosure of classified information was being investigated. There need not be any reason to suspect the person being tested.

In testimony provided the committee, the GAO estimated the number of federal employees subject to possible polygraph tests at about 2.5 million, nearly half of all 5.1 million federal employees. That many hold secret or higher security clearances. The GAO study noted that no fewer than 47 Government agencies now handle classified information, including the Office of Micronesian Status Negotiations, the National Labor Relations Board and the Marine Mammal Commission.

At the hearing, as Willard looked on impassively, former Under Secretary of State George Ball assailed the directive as "an appalling document" and "an absurdity." Charged Ball: "This would require the establishment of a censorship bureaucracy far larger than anything known in our national experience." Charles Rowe, editor of the Fredericksburg (Va.) *Free Lance–Star*, noted that the clearance rules will enable future officials to review the proposed public statements of earlier ones and protested, "If an Administration can censor the comments and criticism of its predecessors, the potential for political mischief is frightening."

Lie detectors also came under heavy fire. John H. Gibbons, director of the Office of Technology Assessment, said of polygraphs, "The instrument cannot detect deception. It's more of a fear detector than a lie detector." Making a similar point with flair, Dr. John F. Beary, former high health official in the Defense Department, said he had a way to determine guilt that was cheaper than a lie detector and almost as reliable, since "it's right 50% of the time." He held up a coin.

Senators, too, seemed appalled by the lifetime preclearance requirements, which had previously applied only to employees of intelligence agencies. Republican Senator Charles Mathias asserted that he had asked the State, Defense and Justice departments to report how many violations of the relevant security classifications they had experienced in the past five years. Only the Defense Department knew of any, Mathias said: one instance. Concluded Mathias: "This hardly justifies a crash program which infringes on important free-speech rights."

The Senate then passed an amendment to a State Department funding bill banning enforcement of the preclearance rules until next April. The House is also expected to approve a freeze on the Administration's sweeping censorship program this session. ■

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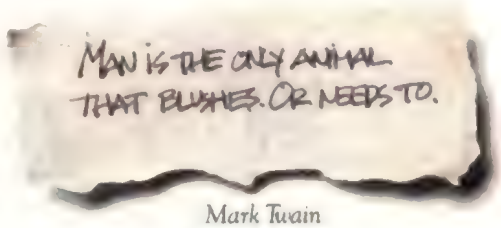

Mark Twain

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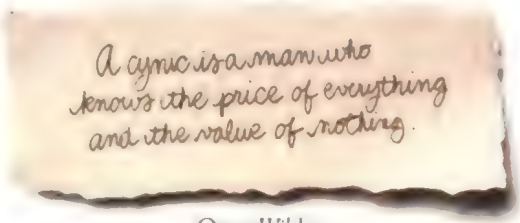

Oscar Wilde

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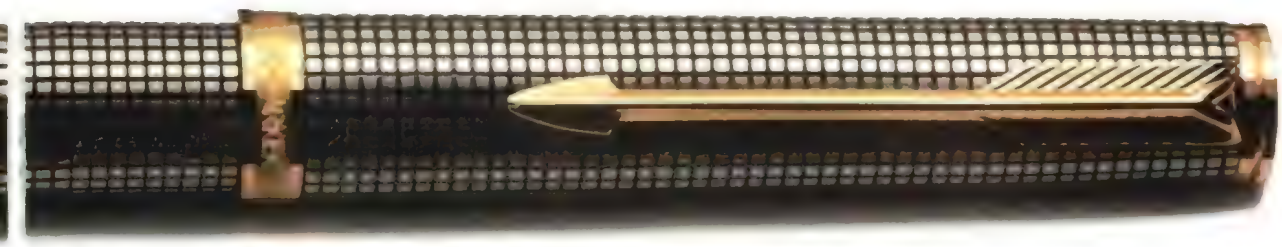

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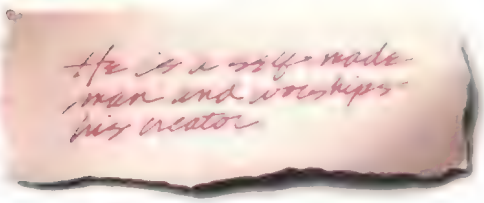

Disraeli on a fellow politician

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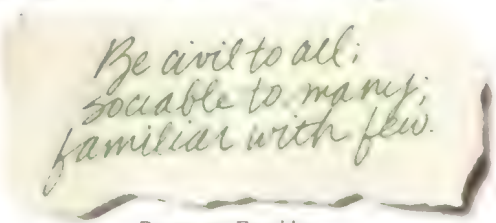

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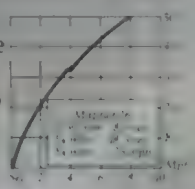

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Looking Out for No. 1

Toney Anaya has high hopes for Hispanics—and for himself

New Mexico is known for its relaxed and relatively conservative state government. But there was nothing mellow or complacent about the New Mexican who addressed the liberal Americans for Democratic Action in Los Angeles last week. "The hands that pick our lettuce, the hands that pick our cotton, are the hands that can pick the next President," thundered Governor Toney Anaya. "I will travel the length and width of this great nation as many times as I have to to ensure that Ronald Reagan is retired in 1984."

A scant ten months after taking office as the nation's highest-ranking Hispanic and its only Hispanic Governor, Anaya, 42, has established himself as a colorful and controversial activist with national ambitions. In New Mexico, a state with a weak Governor system, he has already earned a reputation as an ironfisted leader. Nationally he has gained visibility as chairman of Hispanic Force '84, an effort by elected and appointed Hispanic officials to mobilize the nation's approximately 6 million voting-age Hispanics into an influential force in the Democrats' 1984 presidential campaign. Says Anaya: "My political options in New Mexico are limited. I don't want to stop here."

Born the seventh of ten children in the small town of Moriarty in central New Mexico, Anaya grew up in a three-room adobe house with a dirt floor, outdoor plumbing and no electricity or telephone. His father was a laborer and broncobuster; his mother spoke almost no English and was only semiliterate in Spanish. By the age of seven he was working before and after school at his brother's grocery store as well as milking the family cows and chopping wood. "I've been on the same treadmill ever since," he says. "I've never learned to relax."

After he was elected New Mexico's attorney general in 1974, Anaya transformed the office from a sleepy political backwater into one of the most visible and independent positions in the state by crusading against white-collar crime and championing consumer and environmental issues. In 1982 he was elected Governor by a margin of 25,000 votes out of 406,000 cast, considered a landslide in New Mexico. Under state law, however, Anaya cannot succeed himself, a fact that has made him work feverishly to put his populist stamp on state government and consolidate power in the Governor's office. He has persuaded the state legislature to place more state policy and planning functions under his control. To keep the bureaucracy in line, Anaya is in the process of naming six "policy aides" to be his personal liaisons with the state's 13 cabinet secretaries.

Predictably, his aggressive tactics have drawn fire. But it is his appearances across the country to promote Hispanic Force '84, and some say himself, that particularly irk New Mexicans. "There is a feeling out there that he is not taking care of things at home," admits Harvey Fruman, Anaya's executive assistant and former law partner. In a single week last August, Anaya appeared on *Night Line*, *Meet the Press* and *The MacNeil-Lehrer Report*. Cars in New Mexico sport bumper stickers that say TONEY, PHONE HOME. Anaya is unapologetic. Nevertheless, to allay the criticism, he has canceled some trips outside New Mexico and stepped up his public appearances in-state.

STEVE NORTH—P

The controversial Governor outside his Santa Fe residence

"My political options in New Mexico are limited."

But he is unlikely to absent himself from the circuit for long. Since his Governor's stint ends in January 1987, and the only near-term Senate contest would pit him against popular Incumbent Republican Pete Domenici, Anaya personally has a great deal riding on a Democratic victory in 1984. "In the short term, my involvement with the Hispanic Force is for the party and for the state of New Mexico and for Hispanics," he says. "But in the long term, the involvement is for myself. If a Democrat gets elected President, it opens up a lot of possibilities for me." He is known to aspire to a Cabinet post, perhaps U.S. Attorney General or Secretary of the Interior, or even the vice presidency. "I'm not promoting myself for the ticket," he maintains, "but if a Hispanic were considered, I would be one of them."

The main goal of Hispanic Force '84 is as ambitious as its chairman: to register 1 million new Hispanics by November 1984, bringing the total to 4.4 million (4.5% of the projected 1984 voter rolls). Coordinating the national sign-up campaign is the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project in San Antonio, a nominally nonpartisan group credited with great success in registering Hispanics in electorally critical Texas and California. Hispanics are concentrated in six populous states—California, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, New York and Texas—that cast 173 electoral votes, about three-fifths of the 270 needed to elect a President. On paper they have enormous clout: in California, for example, which has 47 electoral votes, 19% of the population is Hispanic. But the raw numbers overstate their political strength. Nearly one-third of voting-age Hispanics nationwide are resident aliens and thus ineligible to vote. Of those who are eligible, slightly more than half are registered, and their turnout rate, 30%, is 23 percentage points below the national average. Moreover, Hispanics, who can be Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, or South or Central Americans, are diverse culturally and economically. Though they are overwhelmingly Democratic, they rarely vote as a bloc.

Indeed, in 1980, 30% of the Hispanic vote went to Ronald Reagan. In 1984 the G.O.P. is hoping for close to 35%, most of it from upwardly mobile Hispanics in the Sunbelt. The Republicans, like the Democrats, are heavily courting the Hispanic vote: Reagan recently proclaimed a National Hispanic Heritage Week, and the G.O.P. has established Viva '84, a program aimed at registering half a million new Hispanic Republicans.

Despite their fragmented power and loyalties, Anaya feels that Hispanics, hurt by Reagan's programs and galvanized by a national movement of mostly Democratic Hispanic leaders, will make a difference for the Democrats in next fall's election. "Hispanics have been awakened to the influence they can have," he says. "The time and the issues are right in 1984." If they are, Toney Anaya hopes to ride them all the way to Washington. —*By Susan Tifft. Reported by Robert C. Wurmstedt/Santa Fe, with other bureaus*

West German protesters form a human chain extending 65 miles from Stuttgart to Neu Ulm

British demonstrators parade a skeleton effigy

World

EUROPE

The Weekend That Was

A peace movement peacefully masses against missiles

All week long, warmup rallies rolled across West Germany with a precision that seemed incongruous for protesters so long nourished on spontaneous outbursts. The hottest week of the long-awaited, carefully organized hot autumn of antimissile protest began on a decorous enough note. On Sunday, hundreds of Protestant and Roman Catholic churches devoted services to the cause of peace and the evil of nuclear weapons, particularly the 108 U.S.-made Pershing II and 464 cruise missiles scheduled to be deployed in Western Europe. Later in the week feminists and women pacifists, many of them in mourning clothes, marched through half a dozen West German towns. Across the country, peace activists presented concerts, pantomimes, films and debates.

All this was a prelude to a weekend of climactic demonstrations. On Saturday some 700,000 West Germans massed in four cities—Bonn, Hamburg, Stuttgart and West Berlin—in an act of dissent they hoped would mark a turning point in their nation's history. On that same day in London, upwards of 200,000 Britons marched through the streets to a rally in Hyde Park. In Vienna, Stockholm, Rome, Paris, Dublin, Helsinki, Brussels and Madrid, as well as in dozens of towns and cities throughout the U.S. and Canada, the worldwide peace movement stretched its legs and shouted its challenges. But the major offensive was in West Germany, which will receive roughly one-fifth of the cruise missiles and all of the Pershing IIs. There the postwar political consensus on defense and foreign policy is undergoing deep questioning.

Saturday's extravaganza was intended as a challenge to Chancellor Helmut Kohl's government. Many questioned the continued usefulness of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the wisdom of its strategy for defending Western Europe. No one believed that U.S. and Soviet negotiators would reach an agreement at the Geneva arms talks in time to avert the missiles' arrival (though West German opposition Disarmament Spokesman Egon Bahr last week recommended acceptance of a Soviet position in the talks). Nor did most protesters seriously think that by penetrating U.S. military bases they could block deployment physically. What they sought instead was a display large enough to demonstrate that despite the ambiguity of opinion polls, most West Germans oppose new nuclear weapons on their soil.

Authorities vowed to keep the rallies under strict but peaceful control. As things turned out, the spectacle was impressive, though the total turnout was considerably smaller than the organizers had expected. Both police and protesters acted with restraint, and the whole affair at times took on the air of a nationwide picnic. In Bonn, the nation's capital and the main location of the weekend's activity, some 350,000 people streamed through the streets holding banners and here and there bobbing papier-mâché caricatures of President Ronald Reagan. Armbanded marshals kept the river of humanity flowing easily past empty ministries and shuttered foreign embassies. Following meticulous plans, thousands of marchers slowly formed a human star, several miles around, whose points linked the embassies of the world's nuclear powers: the U.S., Britain, France, Israel, the People's Republic of China, South Africa, India and the Soviet Union. The protesters chanted "Hop, hop, hop, *Atomraketen* stop" and other antideployment slogans. Outside the Soviet embassy overlooking nearby Bad Godesberg, hooded men in Ku Klux Klan robes hauled a float carrying six models of silver Pershing II missiles, as four white-faced death figures walked behind. Above a crowd of protesters at the British embassy bobbed U.S. flags on which the red stripes were depicted as missiles and the stars as skulls. Shortly before noon, the demonstrators paused for five minutes of silence.

Once this dramatic gesture was completed, tens of thousands began streaming into the sprawling Hofgarten Park in the heart of Bonn for an afternoon of antimissile rhetoric. The main attraction was former Chancellor Willy Brandt, chairman of the Social Democrats. Brandt told the cheering mass of his countrymen: "In Germany and in Europe, we need not more medium rockets but fewer ones. So we say *no* to more nuclear missiles." Certain powerful

people, he continued, "have got it into their thick heads that deployment of Pershing IIs is more important than reducing SS-20s."

In southern Germany another 200,000 protesters were arriving by bus, train, car, bicycle and foot. There too a human chain was formed. This one connected Stuttgart's U.S. Military Command Headquarters with Wiley Barracks in Neu-Ulm some 65 miles away, where peace movement leaders believe that the first of the Pershing IIs will be deployed. In Hamburg, an estimated 100,000 West Germans stood in the city center to observe the requisite five minutes of silence before dispersing for an afternoon of speeches. Here too the demonstration was smaller than expected. A plan for blockading the River Elbe with small boats was abandoned because not enough craft showed up. In West Berlin, only 10,000 attended a demonstration in front of the city hall. But that ceremony would have been more impressive if thousands of West Berliners had not decided to join the far larger demonstrations in Bonn.

The calculated crescendo of peace rallies took off during a week in which the Soviet Union chose to brandish the stick instead of the carrot at the Western allies. In an interview with the West German magazine *Stern*, Colonel General Nikolai Chervov, a member of the Soviet general staff, publicly acknowledged what Western intelligence sources had long known: Soviet forces in Eastern Europe already are armed with short-range nuclear weapons capable of striking up to 70 miles. On the diplomatic front, after a visit by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko to East Berlin, the Soviets and the East Germans warned that relations between the two Germanys would suffer "serious damage" once the NATO missiles were installed. Against this chill blast, Reagan sent the protesters a message that fell mainly on deaf ears. Said he: "It is not the U.S. and NATO which threaten peace. We have no intermediate-range missiles in Europe and we're willing to forgo them entirely."

But time is running out. Forty-one missiles are scheduled to be installed by the end of the year. They include nine Pershing IIs destined for West Germany, 16 cruise missiles for Britain and 16 for Italy. (The rest are to be delivered over the next four years.) The initial 41 missiles have become the focus of a furor essentially because they are the first U.S.-controlled nuclear missiles on European soil since the early 1960s that are capable of reaching the Soviet Union. As such, they have become symbols for larger questions raised by the peace movement.

The missile controversy is the symptom of a revival of patriotism, and to some extent nationalism, among West European leftists, who are increasingly resentful of U.S. leadership of the alliance. That feeling has led to a widespread but mistaken belief that the U.S. is trying to force the new missiles upon recalcitrant Europeans. In fact, the idea was first advanced by former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, who in 1977 sought to persuade a reluctant Carter Administration of the need to counter the Soviet nuclear missile threat in Western Europe. Although his Social Democratic Party lost the elections last March, in part because of the missile issue, Schmidt remains convinced of that need. "I have nothing to regret or alter," he told TIME last week. "I was the one who first stood up to the whole problem of the [Soviet] SS-20."

In its campaign against the Pershing II and cruise missiles, the peace movement uses a variety of arguments, some of them matters of legitimate debate, but some deeply flawed. Protesters charge, for instance, that Pershing IIs leave the Soviets vulnerable to a surprise, first-strike attack. Yet even if all 108 single-warhead Pershing IIs are deployed, they face 243 SS-20s with triple warheads in the European part of the U.S.S.R. Such a first strike on the part of NATO would make military sense only if it could wipe out Soviet retaliatory power completely, an impossible task even for U.S.-based intercontinental missiles. Nor has the peace movement accepted the fact that it was deployment of the SS-20s that upset the missile balance in Western Europe.

That puts the movement at apparent odds with much of the general public. According to a poll commissioned by TIME and conducted by SCOPE, a Lucerne-based market research firm, most West Europeans have closed ranks with their governments on the missile issue. Indeed, most people living in countries where missiles will be stationed approve of NATO's dual-track strategy *(see chart)*. West Europeans clearly perceive a serious military threat, not so much from the tough-talking Reagan Administration but from the Soviet SS-20s. The consensus over deployment, however, is both precarious and volatile. Public attitudes toward nuclear weapons in general are increasingly ambivalent, as is public confidence over the future of NATO.

Most activists in the peace movement tend to see their struggle as a campaign more against the U.S. than against NATO, and only remotely against the nuclear policies of the Soviet Union. In the words of one organizer, "That is because we can't influence the Soviet Union, but we can influence decisions here." In the long run, the movement probably will have an impact. A decade ago, nuclear strategy could be carried out by a small priesthood of strategic theologians who made their decisions in blissful solitude. No longer. As last weekend's demonstrations showed, the peace movement may be overly emotional and at times ill-informed, but it has given many West Europeans the notion that they have a right to shape those decisions and a belief that they know enough about the issues to make their views relevant. Long after the autumn of protest has turned to the winter of deployment, that notion is likely to endure. ***—By Frederick Painton. Reported by Gary Lee/Bonn and William Rademaekers/Brussels, with other bureaus***

"The countries of Western Europe and NATO are generally on the right course now, trying to negotiate arms reduction in Geneva, but also planning to deploy Pershing IIs and cruise missiles if the U.S.S.R. does not reduce its own nuclear threat."

CHINA

New Purges

Deng strengthens his authority

"We do not wish to hide our errors and defects," declared the latest issue of *Red Flag*, the theoretical journal of China's Communist Party. "If the party's style of work is not rectified, the people's belief in the superiority of socialism and the final victory of Communism will be shaken."

After a year of preparations, the party had embarked on what was officially called an "overall rectification of party style and consolidation of party organizations." In everything but name, however, it will be a purge, an attempt by China's Deng Xiaoping, 79, to secure his own authority and that of his chosen successors. For China's 40 million party members, it will be the biggest political event since the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s.

To justify the campaign, party leaders have indulged in some frank self-criticism. "Serious problems" exist, admitted the release that announced the purge. "Some party members have a vague and confused idea about the basic principles and superiority of the socialist system and about the bright Communist future ... some turn a blind eye to anti-Marxist and antisocialist ideas." Even today, continued the anonymous critic, "some party members ... openly violate regulations and discipline, sabotage state plans, violate state economic policies and illegally retain taxes and profits."

Under the new procedures, all party members will have to deliver a self-criticism before their comrades. Only if this is adequate and their dossiers show no signs of unresolved crimes will membership be confirmed. The presumed purpose is to remove Maoists who still oppose Deng's policies. Thus the campaign is being linked in an indirect way to two other Chinese trends: a move to burnish Deng's prestige and a drive against crime. Each, in its own way, is aimed at increasing Deng's popularity and power—and ensuring the survival of his policies beyond the grave.

A convicted murderer

No personality cult has developed, but it is clear that Deng is being placed on a pedestal almost as high as the one once reserved for Mao Tse-tung. Just as the publication of Mao's Little Red Book heralded the beginning of his near deification, the release in July of Deng's *Selected Works* drew well-publicized congratulatory messages from across the country. Two million copies were sold on the first day, and the press later revealed that the print run had been increased to 40 million copies.

The anticrime campaign is a more subtle reflection of the maneuvering to shore up Deng. Genuinely popular, the drive has as its official purpose simply eradicating a growing number of violent crimes. Every day, public bulletin boards are plastered with new execution notices, while grim truckloads of prisoners are driven back and forth to draw attention to the severity of their sentences. The campaign is said to have been directly inspired by the need to protect Deng, physically and politically. A rumor has it that an attack upon Deng's motorcade occurred in August near the seaside resort of Beidaihe. Though he was not harmed, the incident apparently prompted the crackdown. Yet Deng is also vulnerable to charges that China's open-door policies toward the West have given birth to "bourgeois rottenness." In standing foursquare for law-and-order, Deng is seeking to shield himself from criticism.

Given the lack of fight on his left, Deng's preoccupation seems excessive. But he continues to face opposition from the military, particularly since his policies have so improved the lot of China's peasants that army recruiting and re-enlistment have fallen sharply. The purges look increasingly like gambits to prop up Deng to such a degree that his chosen successors will be able to continue his good works. The new Helmsman, it seems, does not want to suffer the same posthumous treatment that he doled out to Mao. ■

Reprise at St. Peter's

"Here's where the two Bulgarians let me out, and here's the store where I bought several rolls of film . . ." Thus for two hours last week did Mehmet Ali Agca, 25, the confessed Turkish terrorist who tried to assassinate Pope John Paul II, re-enact the May 13, 1981, shooting in St. Peter's Square in Rome. The walk-through had been ordered by Judge Ilario Martella, the Italian magistrate who has been investigating the theory that the shooting was the result of a conspiracy involving Bulgarian accomplices. Wearing jeans, a blue turtleneck sweater, tennis shoes and a stubby growth of beard, Agca looked tired and nervous as he retraced his steps under the watchful eyes of, among others, Judge Martella and defense attorneys for Sergei Antonov, the Balkan Airlines representative whom Agca has accused of complicity.

In his guided tour, Agca made one seemingly minor but possibly important new revelation: he said that he had stopped in one of the shops along the square to buy film with which to take souvenir photographs of the Pope. One of Antonov's lawyers later said that for Agca to have been thinking of taking photographs at the moment he was planning the assassination "is absurd," and casts further doubt on his story. Magistrate Martella has maintained a strict silence on the inquiry, though last month he informed Agca that he was under investigation for slandering Antonov, apparently by implicating the Bulgarian in an alleged plot to kill Polish Labor Leader Lech Walesa earlier that same year.

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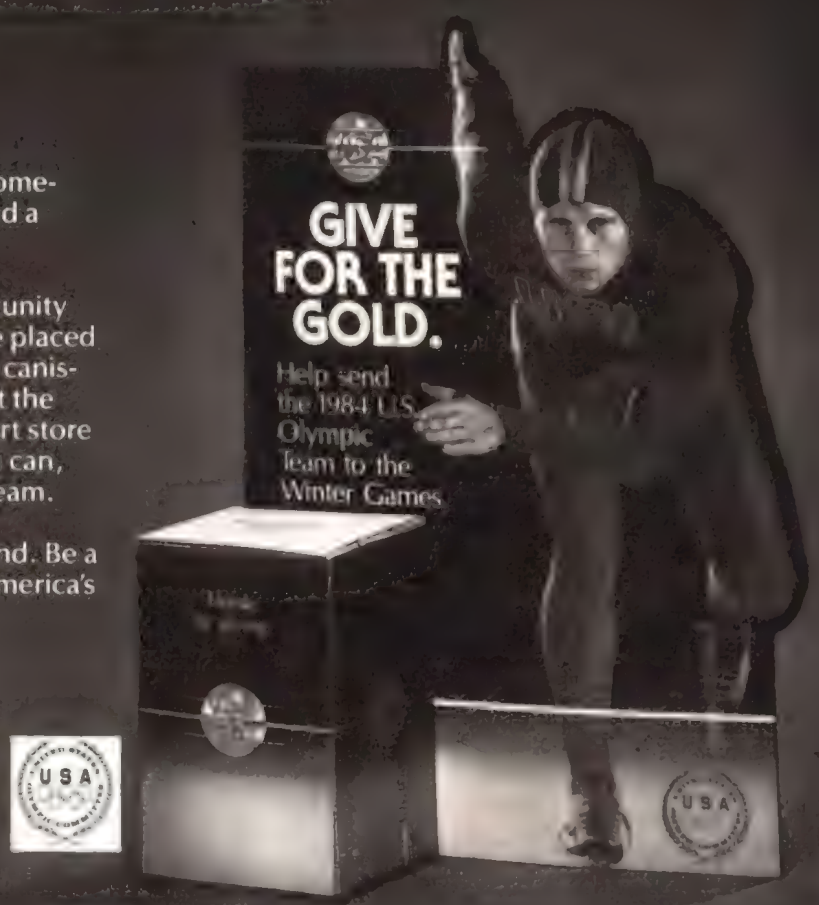

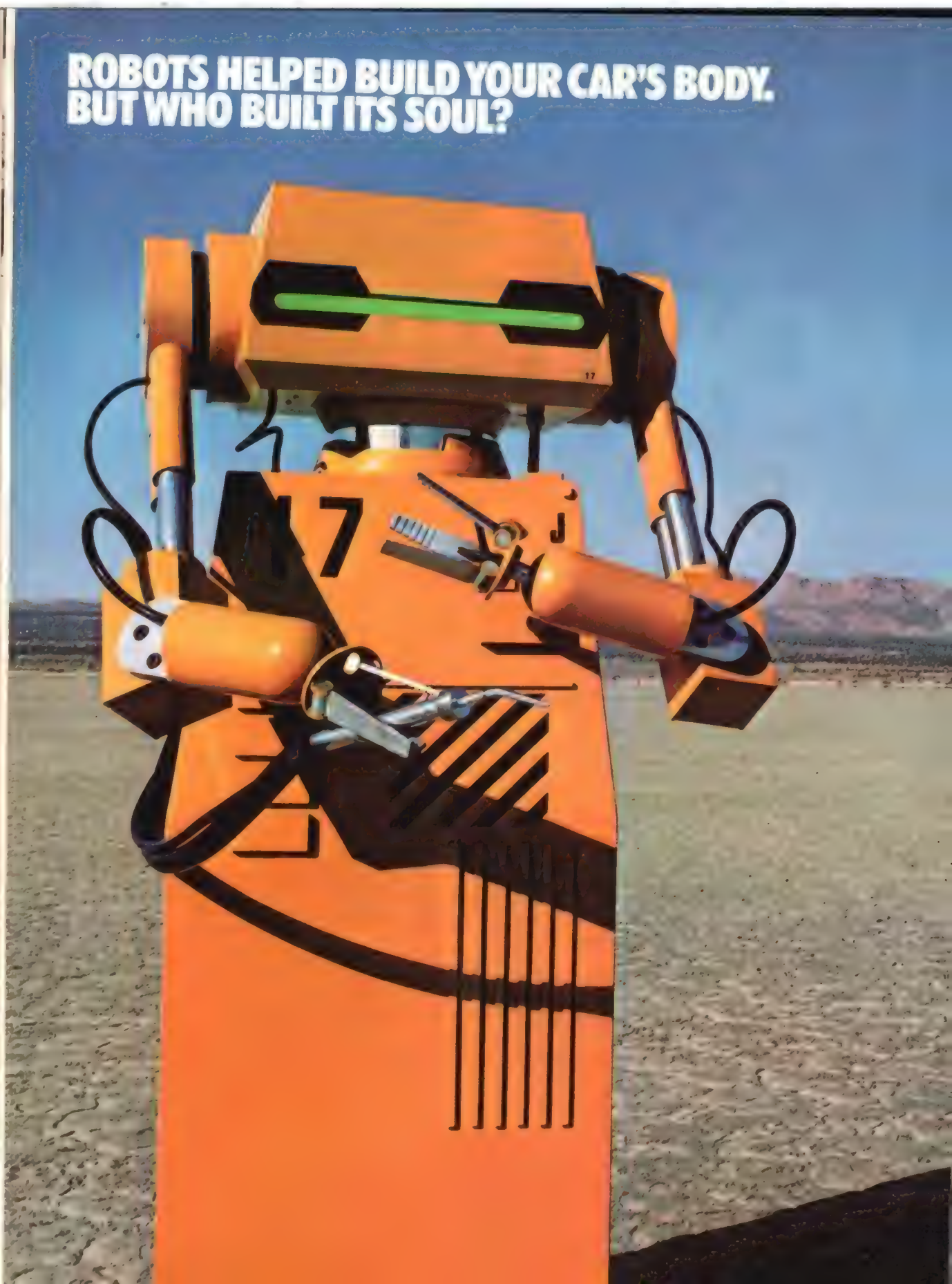
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GRENADA

Spice Island Power Play

After a bloody takeover, a U.S. force steams into range

For almost a week, Radio Free Grenada had kept listeners across the Caribbean on edge with breathless accounts of coups and countercoups among the Marxist rulers of the tiny (133 sq. mi., pop. 110,000) island. Then last Wednesday, what had begun as political melodrama turned into a murderous power play. Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, 39, was languishing under army-imposed house arrest in the capital of St. George's when a mob of supporters burst past the guards and carried him outdoors. To shouts of "We get we leader back," Bishop joined a crowd of 10,000 that surged through the city streets protesting his overthrow.

Suddenly, say eyewitnesses, truckloads of soldiers roared up and fired on the crowd, slaying more than a dozen people. In the resulting pandemonium, Bishop was led away at gunpoint. That night Radio Free Grenada announced the chilling news that he was dead. He had been executed along with five other officials by the "revolutionary armed forces" under the command of General Hudson Austin.

As word of the bloody takeover reached Washington, a naval task force that had been headed for Lebanon with 1,900 Marines aboard was ordered to change course and steam toward Grenada. Its new mission, said Pentagon officials, was to offer protection if necessary for the 1,000 Americans on the island, the majority of them students at the St. George's University School of Medicine. The situation, declared White House Spokesman Larry Speakes, "has raised our concerns to the highest level." Equally perturbed were the governments of the dozen Caribbean island nations that share Grenada's British heritage. At Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, the leaders of those countries met to consider sanctions against Grenada's new junta.

Bishop seized power 4½ years ago in a bloodless coup that deposed the eccentric and repressive regime of Sir Eric Gairy. Nominally a Marxist but at heart a pragmatist, Bishop did not establish a democracy. But he did satisfy most citizens with social tranquillity, rising exports and a host of public works, including 45 miles of new roads. Many of the projects were financed by Cuban and other Soviet bloc aid. Lately Bishop had even been talking of elections. Last spring he visited Washington for meetings with U.S. officials in an effort to tone down the antagonistic rhetoric between the two governments, much of it spawned by construction of a Cuban-built runway capable of accommodating MiG fighters.

Bishop's moderation may have been his undoing. For months, Grenada had been rife with rumors of conflict between the Prime Minister and his most senior colleague, Finance Minister Bernard Coard, a doctrinaire Marxist. After a welter of contradictory reports last week, it seemed that Coard had toppled Bishop in a power struggle. General Austin strengthened that impression in a long radio address in which he chastised Bishop for failing to share power with Coard under a policy of "collective leadership."

In fact, it now appears that Coard was soon eclipsed by military leaders, who detained and later killed Bishop. They also executed Foreign Minister Unison Whiteman, Education Minister Jacqueline Creft, Housing Minister Norris Bain and two union leaders allied with the slain Prime Minister. Coard, meanwhile, has mysteriously vanished from sight.

Apparently the officers who run the island's 2,000-man army were fearful of Bishop's popular appeal and his dominance over the ruling New Jewel Movement party. In his place they established a 16-member ruling "Revolutionary Military Council" composed entirely of army officers. Its first decrees banned demonstrations, closed schools and all but essential businesses indefinitely, and imposed a four-day 24-hour curfew. Violators, Austin warned, "will be shot on sight."

Grenada's chances of prospering under the junta's control are slim. Austin, 45, is a one-time prison guard with few visible qualifications to head a government. His sole academic credential is a correspondence degree in construction engineering. Though little was known of Austin's political connections, the Reagan Administration was fearful that last week's coup had been inspired by Cuba or the Soviet Union.

AP

Austin

Grenada lies at the heart of vital sea-lanes, and Administration officials have long claimed that the Soviets plan to turn the island into a strategic base that would threaten the shipment of U.S. oil supplies. In recent months, however, the Cubans have been urging the Grenadian government to seek accommodation with the U.S. to help ease tensions in the region. Last week they seemed concerned that the latest events in Grenada might give Communism a bad name in the Caribbean. Cuban President Fidel Castro condemned the "savage" killings and said that no revolutionary doctrine or principle justified "the physical elimination of Maurice Bishop and the outstanding group of honest and worthy leaders who died."

UPI

For Grenada's other neighbors in the crescent of Caribbean island nations, the coup was particularly bad news. Afflicted though many of them are with depressed economies, until now their citizens have been spared violent Latin American–style takeovers. At their meeting in Trinidad, the foreign ministers and heads of state of CARICOM, the organization of Caribbean nations, pondered the crisis in Grenada but understood full well they could not undo the damage. Said Barbados Prime Minister Tom Adams: "The worst has been realized. The most vicious type of political murder has come into what was once a happy chain of islands." —*By Kenneth W. Banta. Reported by Bernard Diederich/Bridgetown*

Bishop with Castro during a meeting in Havana last July

The worst had been realized: a vicious political murder.

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Red Faces in the Cosmos

Salyut runs into trouble, but Columbia *seems in no better shape*

Few extraterrestrial ambitions have been declared more often by the U.S.S.R. than that of establishing permanent bases in space. In pursuit of this cosmic goal, the Soviets have launched a series of Salyut spacecraft that have been occupied by cosmonauts for periods of half a year or more. Now this program, often advertised by the Kremlin as a steppingstone to the stars, has suffered a serious setback. Last week Soviet officials acknowledged that the latest orbital station, Salyut 7, had experienced problems, though they vigorously denied British reports that the two cosmonauts were in danger of being marooned in space.

Lyakhov and Alexandrov at home in space
No anxiety in mission control.

The 20-ton, cylindrical Salyut 7 was launched in April 1982. Its present occupants, Cosmonauts Alexander Alexandrov and Vladimir Lyakhov, rocketed aloft to go aboard last June. On Sept. 9, according to Western intelligence sources, the ship developed a leak in its propellant system that disabled half of its steering jets. *Aviation Week & Space Technology* quoted one U.S. space official as saying, "Salyut 7 is essentially dead in the water." Eighteen days later a Soyuz ferry ship loaded with a fresh crew and additional supplies exploded on the launch pad. The two cosmonauts escaped certain death by lifting off from the flaming launch site with a small escape rocket that let them drop down two miles away by parachute.

Belatedly acknowledging the mishap after it had been reported by Western intelligence sources, Soviet officials nonetheless insisted that the failure of the resupply effort in no way endangered the Salyut 7 cosmonauts. As if to prove the point, Moscow television last week showed Alexandrov and Lyakhov bantering with mission controllers. Still, after three months in orbit, the cosmonauts need fresh supplies of food, oxygen and fuel. To provide those materials, the Soviets last week launched an unmanned Progress 18 space "freighter" that was expected to dock with Salyut 7.

Some observers had thought the Soviets might attempt an emergency evacuation of the cosmonauts via their original Soyuz ferry ship (which is still attached to Salyut), so the decision to send up Progress 18 was regarded as an encouraging sign for the spacemen. Said veteran Soviet Space Watcher James Oberg (*Red Star in Orbit*): "There seems to be little real anxiety in mission control." However, as Oberg notes, Salyut's steering problems, combined with the launch-pad fiasco, show that the Soviets cannot yet manage replacement of crews on a regular, scheduled basis. Such a capability is a prerequisite for operating a permanent orbital station.

NASA, meanwhile, had its own difficulties. Last week the space shuttle *Columbia* was still resting in its hangar at Florida's Kennedy Space Center following the postponement of its launch scheduled for Oct. 28. Officials suspected there were flaws in the thermal insulation on the nozzle of one of *Columbia's* two strap-on solid-propellant booster rockets. Similar coating on a rocket nozzle recovered from the previous shuttle flight in August turned out, on postflight inspection, to be just a hairline away from burning through. Some space officials said that if the rocket had fired only a few seconds longer, it would have lost all directional ability and the spacecraft would have tumbled wildly out of control.

The delay was especially embarrassing to NASA because *Columbia* was to have carried into orbit the $1.1 billion European-built Spacelab. A self-contained scientific station, it will perform a wide variety of experiments while parked in the shuttle's open cargo bay. At Kennedy last week crews stripped away the questionable booster while tests continued on why the insulating material failed. NASA said that there would be no firm word on a new launch date before Nov. 1. Lift-off could take place as soon as Nov. 28, but if that "window" is missed, the next opportunity would not come before next February because of the alignments of moon, sun and stars required for Spacelab's astronomical experiments. ■

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Made-to-Order Vaccines

Preventing herpes and other ills by scrambling DNA

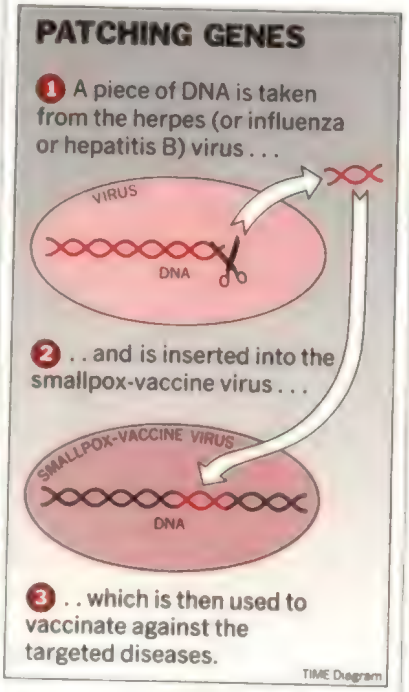
The immediate targets are herpes, hepatitis and influenza, but the potential is much greater. Last week a group of scientists with the New York State department of health announced an exciting and imaginative application of the genetic-engineering techniques that are transforming modern medicine. Using the sophisticated new cut-and-paste methods of manipulating genes, the researchers were able to transform ordinary smallpox vaccine into vaccines that may be able to prevent the other three diseases. So far the results have been tested in animals only, but Virologist Enzo Paoletti, a senior scientist on the project, is confident that they will work in humans as well. What is more, Paoletti's Albany-based team has already begun work on a version for malaria, the No. 1 infectious health threat in the world. Says Paoletti: "We see no reason why our approach won't work with virtually any infectious disease, whether it is viral, bacterial or even parasitic in nature." Though some scientists have reservations about the techniques, a senior official of the usually restrained World Health Organization declares, "This is a scientific achievement of the first order."

The starting point for the dramatic research is the oldest vaccine on earth: a smallpox prophylactic made from a live cowpox virus called vaccinia. It was developed two centuries ago by Edward Jenner, a British physician who had observed that milkmaids exposed to cowpox were immune to smallpox. Because vaccinia is an unusually large virus and because it has been familiar to scientists for so long, it was an ideal subject for genetic tinkering.

What Paoletti and his colleague, Virologist Dennis Panicali, set out to do was to alter the genetic material, or DNA, of cowpox virus by inserting a gene from another virus—herpes, hepatitis B or influenza (*see diagram*). The goal of these microscopic manipulations is to develop a vaccine that will fool the immune system and make it swing into action. A smallpox preventive that expresses a herpes trait, for instance, will provoke the body into creating antibodies against herpes. The person is then protectively armed against an actual attack of the disease.

When tested in rabbits, the genetically engineered formulas proved to be able deceivers, eliciting large quantities of antibodies to hepatitis B, herpes simplex or flu. More impressive still was a study performed by a team at the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases (NIAID) showing that chimpanzees immunized with the genetically engineered hepatitis vaccine remained healthy when exposed to the disease. Paoletti got similar results when he exposed immunized mice to herpes virus, which can be fatal to rodents. Says he: "Even with ten to 20 times the lethal dose of herpes simplex, we have 100% survival."

The advantages of this piggyback approach to creating vaccines are enormous. First, there is no risk of actually getting herpes, hepatitis B or influenza from the injection, since the viruses themselves are not present in the formula. Second, the smallpox vaccine, however it is altered, is cheap, easy to use and does not require refrigeration—all tremendous advantages in Third World countries, where infectious diseases are rampant. "It would cost about 30¢ a shot, and only one shot would be required," says Molecular Virologist Geoffrey Smith of the NIAID team. By contrast, an injection of a hepatitis-B vaccine currently costs $100, and two or three doses are necessary.



Perhaps the greatest advantage of the new method is the possibility of creating a single vaccine that would be effective against a dozen or more different diseases. The cowpox virus is so large, says Paoletti, that "there is enough room to insert twelve to 15 different foreign genes. We could perhaps develop a polyvaccine that would render a person immune to herpes, hepatitis, malaria and other diseases, all in one shot."

But Paoletti believes that it will be at least three years before the vaccines can be tested on humans and several more before they can be marketed. In addition, he notes, there is no evidence that the herpes vaccine will help the 20 million Americans who already have the disease. "I think there is no question that this is a potential method of prophylaxis, but we cannot yet speak to the question of cure."

Other scientists have much graver doubts about the health department's work. "While this represents an elegant piece of genetic engineering, I have some reservations about the safety of using vaccinia," warns Virologist Edwin D. Kilbourne, of Mount Sinai Hospital in New York City. "The risks are remote and rare," says Pediatric Immunologist Vincent Fulginiti of the University of Arizona, but he agrees with Kilbourne. The danger: vaccinia can be transferred by contact from the site of inoculation to the eye, other parts of the body and even to other people, sometimes causing infection. In individuals whose immune systems are damaged—burn victims, leukemia or AIDS patients—this could be lethal.

Paoletti admits that his newly engineered vaccines may not be for everyone, but believes that with a little restructuring they could be improved. "We may be able to delete genes that are responsible for the undesirable side effects of vaccinia," he says. In short, the techniques of genetic alchemy that made the vaccines possible could ultimately be used to make them safer.

■ ■ ■

In another feat of genetic engineering announced last week, researchers isolated the bacterial gene for a poison believed to cause toxic-shock syndrome. The disease made national headlines in 1980, when it caused the sudden death of 42 people, most of them menstruating women (cases in men are rare). Last year ten deaths were reported. In a paper published in *Nature*, three leading researchers concluded that the disease is produced by a toxin made by the common bacterium *Staphylococcus aureus*. Only about one in 1,000 adults is susceptible to the toxin, according to the authors. By isolating and then replicating the gene for the toxin, scientists will be able to make large quantities of the poison, which can then be used to develop a simple blood test to detect susceptibility. According to Microbiologist Richard Novick, director of the Public Health Research Institute of New York City, the screening technique could be ready for study within six months. Those found to be vulnerable would be warned of the early signs of the disease—sudden high fever, dizziness and vomiting or diarrhea. Women might be advised not to use tampons, which have been associated with the bacterial growth that leads to toxic shock. —*By Claudia Wallis*

From Dying Stars to Living Cells

Another U.S. sweep of the Nobel Prizes in the sciences

When Dynamite Inventor Alfred Nobel created his great prizes at the turn of the century, he stipulated that they be given for notable achievement in the previous year. The Swedish jurors have long since abandoned that encumbering rule because it has led to some embarrassing decisions, such as a 1926 award for discovery of a "cancer causing" parasite. No one, however, could accuse the Swedes of haste or incaution last week when they completed this year's science awards, worth $192,000 apiece.

The 1983 Nobel Prize for Physics was shared by Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar, 73, of the University of Chicago and William A. Fowler, 72, of Caltech for their work on the evolution of stars. The winner of the chemistry prize was Stanford's Henry Taube, 67, for his elucidation of the basic mechanisms of complex chemical reactions. Scientists agreed that the honors were long overdue. Including the previously announced medicine prize, this year's list of laureates gave the U.S. its first clean sweep in the Nobel science prizes since 1976 and continued four decades of American domination of the awards.

Chandrasekhar, who got word of the award on his birthday, is a slight, 5-ft. 6-in. scholar with a shy manner, a preference for black suits and a love of Tolstoy, Mozart and Beethoven. Born in Lahore, then part of India, to a prominent Hindu family (his physicist uncle, Sir Chandrasekhara Raman, won a Nobel in 1930), Chandra, as he is called by physicists everywhere, began the work for which he was cited more than a half-century ago. In 1930, when he was only 19 years old, he whiled away the long shipboard hours on his way to begin studies at Cambridge's Trinity College by doing calculations on a problem troubling astronomers. They already knew that a star of about the sun's mass would collapse after its nuclear fires died out and shrink to an earth-size object called a white dwarf. But what would happen if the dying star were significantly larger than the middling-size sun?

Chandra's then astonishing answer: the collapse would continue, creating even stranger objects whose interiors contained matter unlike anything on earth. Absurd, sniffed Sir Arthur Eddington, Britain's most eminent astronomer, who mockingly said that Chandra's equations pointed to a star whose surface gravity would be so powerful as to preclude even the escape of light. Today the study of black holes, as such invisible stars are now called, along with kindred neutron stars, is one of the liveliest topics in astrophysics. Chandra, who came to the U.S. in 1936, says wryly of the belated recognition "Usually my work has become appreciated only after some length of time."

Unlike Chandrasekhar, whom he regards as his idol, the Pittsburgh-born Fowler is cherubically gregarious, almost as devoted to his beloved Pirates and old locomotives as to physics. His chief scientific interest: the nuclear reactions deep within the fiery interiors of stars. Chandra's work together with Fowler's, says University of Chicago Astronomy Professor John Simpson, "formed the basis for making models of the death and birth of stars." By the 1950s, astronomers realized that most of the universe's 90-odd elements, or types of atoms, had been "cooked" not at the moment of the universe's explosive birth but inside the hot furnaces of subsequently formed stars in fusion processes similar to those that occur when a hydrogen bomb detonates. But as they gazed out upon the heavens with their telescopes and spectrometers, astronomers found that the composition of stars varied enormously, containing different atoms and in different proportions. Why were there so many variations?

Chandra: black holes

Taube: bridges

Fowler on a visit to Yerkes Observatory in Wisconsin last week

Exploring the mysteries of stellar evolution.

In 1957 Fowler, together with three colleagues, Sir Fred Hoyle and Margaret and Geoffrey Burbidge, provided the answer. In exquisite detail, they showed how the stellar furnaces forge progressively heavier atoms out of lighter ones. They provided a number of pathways for the fusion reactions, including one in which a giant star eventually explodes in a supernova and unleashes forces powerful enough to create the heaviest known naturally occurring elements such as uranium. Fowler subsequently refined these ideas so he could predict exactly what elements would be found in a particular type of star. These predictions have been almost precisely matched by astronomical observations.

Taube, who was born to a day laborer's family in Neudorf, Saskatchewan, and moved to the U.S. in 1937, celebrated his award at the regular hamburger and beer party he gives for his students (they provided champagne). With characteristic modesty, he insisted that there were "so many deserving people" who might have been given the prize. But colleagues vehemently disagreed, pointing out that he had totally dominated inorganic chemistry with the originality of his insights into chemical reactions, especially those between metals.

Known as electron-transfer reactions, they involve a kind of horsetrading, in which molecules exchange some of their electrons. Electrons are the glue that holds the atoms in a molecule together. Says Taube: "When reactions take place, you are transferring the glue from one molecule to another. As a result, the molecules involved sometimes totally reorganize and form entirely new molecules or substances." Through a series of ingenious experiments Taube showed that certain atoms or molecules can serve as bridges for this exchange of electrons. His work provided the first concrete models of what takes place during these reactions.

Taube's work, already widely honored in his own field, has important industrial applications for the development of agents, called catalysts, which help speed up reactions to produce commercial chemicals. It is also becoming increasingly significant in understanding how enzymes work in regulating basic biological processes, including such critical events as the development of living cells. But as with the other winners, it was his early prescience, not his practicality, that the Nobel board looked back to honor. —*By Frederic Golden. Reported by Mary Johnson/Stockholm and J. Madeleine Nash/Chicago*

Hot Times for the Old Orb

Government studies warn of dramatic changes in climate

The doomsday headlines (SUNBELT MOVING NORTH, WARMING SPELLS DISASTER) were unduly alarmist, and much of the information was well known to scientists. But last week a media brouhaha was triggered by new studies from the Environmental Protection Agency and the National Academy of Sciences. Both groups agreed on a startling prognosis: the earth is warming up from all the carbon dioxide being spilled into the atmosphere by the burning of fossil fuels, and worse, the first effects of the climatic changes could be felt as early as the 1990s.

The EPA predicted temperature increases of nearly 4° F by the year 2040; a rise in sea levels of 2 feet by 2025 (thereby inundating some low-lying areas in coastal cities such as Charleston, S.C., and Galveston, Texas); and drastically changing rainfall patterns, especially in the breadbasket areas of the Midwest, where reduced precipitation could jeopardize crops. Nothing, not even a sharp cutback in the use of fossil fuels, the EPA added, could alter this climatic course.

Several days after these findings hit the front page, the academy's congressionally commissioned report strongly echoed the EPA's gloomy long-range forecast. While it was couched in less dramatic terms, the study provided more fresh science, based largely on computer models. It warned that CO_2 concentrations could double by late in the 21st century, increasing global temperatures by as much as 7°. The rich, irrigated farming areas of California and the Texas Gulf would dry out, and agriculture would shift to the north. Like the EPA findings, the 496-page document called for more research to determine how best to cope with the changing conditions. The situation, it said, requires "caution, not panic."

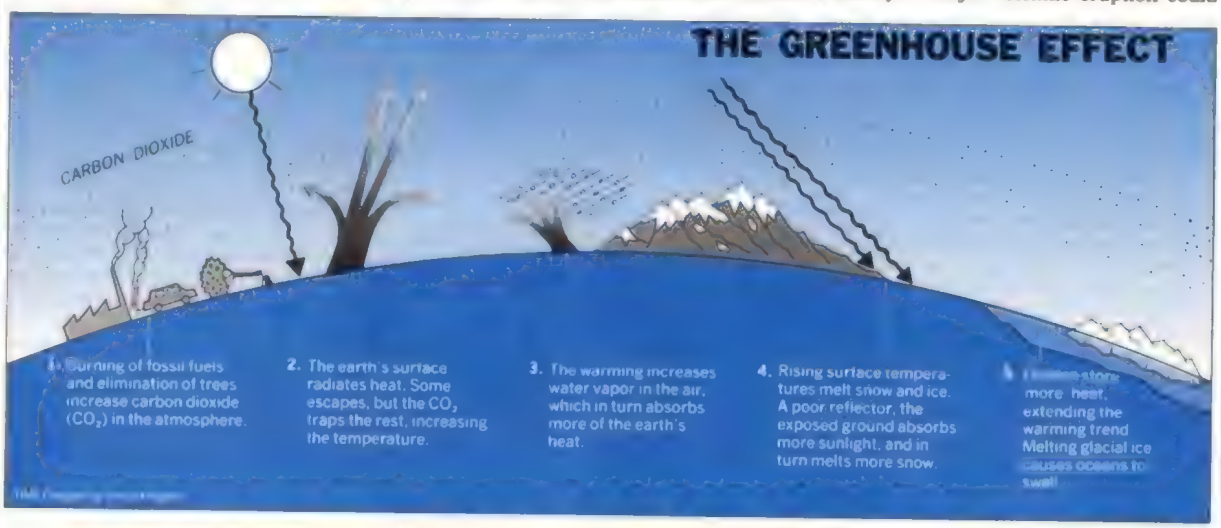
Some areas might actually profit from the shifts. The Northeast, for example, could get a more benign climate, not unlike Florida's. Canada's growing season might lengthen, and some deserts would begin to bloom. In addition, the extra CO_2 might increase the rate of photosynthesis, encouraging more vigorous plant growth. The reports also pointed out that effects could be mitigated by tactics like switching to crops more suitable for the new conditions.

But even EPA Administrator William Ruckelshaus professed surprise at the strong public reaction. After all, he pointed out, "we can't say any of these things for certain." Scientists noted that researchers have been cautioning for nearly a century that the burning of fossil fuels (coal, oil, natural gas) is steadily increasing the atmosphere's CO_2 content. The invisible gas itself is not dangerous. In fact, it is vital to green plants, which combine CO_2 with water in the presence of sunlight to produce carbohydrates.

But plainly there can be too much of a good thing. As the amount of atmospheric CO_2 increases beyond the capacity of plants or the oceans to reabsorb it, the gas acts as a thermal blanket. It allows the sun's rays to pass through it, like the glass of a greenhouse, but blocks longer infrared, or heat, waves given off by the earth's surface from radiating back into space. Gradually, as CO_2 levels rise, the atmosphere gets warmer. It retains more water vapor, adding still another "greenhouse" gas that traps heat. Meanwhile, the temperature of the earth's surface rises, melting snow and ice. The water swells the oceans, because of both the runoff and the water's heat-induced expansion. At the same time, as the polar icecaps shrink, the planet's total reflectivity decreases. Result: the earth bounces less sunlight back into space and heats up even more. Says Robert Schiffer, manager of NASA's climate-research program: "It's all straightforward physics."

Straightforward perhaps, but hardly the entire picture. For example, scientists still do not know whether the ability of the oceans to soak up CO_2 from the atmosphere is even close to the limit. They also are uncertain about the precise role of other atmospheric components, such as dust particles, increased cloud cover and sulfur dioxide, all of which tend to produce a cooling effect. A more remote possibility: a major volcanic eruption could darken skies round the world for several years, as Krakatau did a century ago, or there could be unexpected fluctuations in the sun's radiation, perhaps a factor in past ice ages. As Geophysicist William Nierenberg of the Scripps Institution of Oceanography, the academy panel's chairman, acknowledges, "The issue is full of uncertainties."

Yet for all the unanswered questions, there appears to be little doubt among scientists that a troubling CO_2 buildup is leading the earth into a period of major climatic uncertainty. NASA's Brian Toon has been studying the greenhouse effect on hot, cloud-covered Venus (surface temperature: 900° F). He concludes, "We're on the ragged edge of convincingly demonstrating that it's happening on earth as well." At the very least, as the studies urge, the inhabitants of the planet must begin looking more seriously into how they might live in a new, hotter world. —*By Frederic Golden. Reported by Jay Branegan/Washington, with other bureaus*



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The 5/50 Reliant K.
41 est. hwy. 29 EPA est. mpg:†
Match it for mileage.
Reliant K is America's highest mileage 6-passenger car. It has advanced front-wheel drive and a 2.2 liter engine, perhaps Chrysler's best ever. It's also a car that's computer designed to give you maximum fuel efficiency. No wonder Reliant K's competition find that tough to match.

*5 years or 50,000 miles, whichever comes first. Limited warranty. Deductible applies. Excludes leases. See dealer for details. †Use EPA est.
**Base sticker price excluding title, taxes and destination charges. ‡Based on Ward's Automotive

2-door SE as shown $7959

K for 1984. Match it! (If you can.)

The 5/50 Reliant K: Match it for price. Reliant K is the lowest priced 6-passenger front-wheel drive car in America. And standard are power disc brakes, an electronically tuned radio with digital clock, a new instrument panel displaying more vital information including voltmeter and trip odometer, steel belted tires and more. And with 5/50 protection, that's a great deal to match.

The 5/50 Reliant K: Match it for resale value! Reliant K's resale value‡ is the highest of any American compact. Combined with Reliant K's lowest price and 5-year or 50,000-mile protection, you've got a lot to match. The 5/50 Plymouth Reliant K: Match it! (If you can.) Buckle up for safety.

Reliant K. A product of The New Chrysler Technology.

mpg for comparison. Your mileage may vary depending on speed, trip length and weather. Actual highway and California estimates lower. Report classifications of domestic compact cars and recent issues of NADA Used Car Guides.

Pall Mall
A Step Ahead
Step up in taste,
step down in tar
100's
PALL MALL
FAMOUS CIGARETTES
LIGHTS
LOW TAR FILTER
9 mg. tar
0.8 mg. nic.
Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

People

Carter: sweet surprise

Like many a President's term in office, a young lady's sweet sixteenth birthday comes only once. And so in honor of the occasion, **Jimmy** and **Rosalynn Carter** showed up at Woodward Academy last week to take **Amy** and three school girlfriends out for a surprise family dinner in Atlanta. In addition to the requisite birthday cake, Amy received a bouquet of balloons and a few gifts. But she was back at the private boarding school for the 8 p.m. curfew. She entered Woodward as a junior this fall. And, who knows, the once retiring Amy may follow in her father's footsteps: she has already been elected president of the Key Club.

■

The Americanization of *Pygmalion:* instead of a young Cockney woman's being taught how to speak the King's English, how about a Bronx cab driver's being coached to sing like a country boy? That's what **Dolly Parton,** 37, is doing to **Sylvester Stallone,** 37, in *Rhinestone,* which just started filming in Manhattan. Parton plays a singer in a honky-tonk bar who bets her boss that she can turn anyone into a country-and-western star. Enter You-Know-Who. Country Rocky soon learns how to belt it out not in the ring but on the stage. Off the set, Parton says she has been learning a few things from her health-conscious co-star. After a stern summer of dieting, she is lighter by 26 pounds. Says Parton: "Hanging around with him makes it easier for me to stay away from Velveeta and Wonder bread."

■

No one paid any attention to the dapper, mustachioed gentleman who joined the members of the men-only Friars Club in Manhattan last week at a stag roast for **Sid Caesar.** By week's end, however, the officers of the 79-year-old male bastion were trying to forget Phillip Downey, better known as **Phyllis Diller,** 65. The idea to crash the party came from the loudmouthed comedian's boyfriend, Howard Rose, an architect and dues-paying Friar, and she began working on her disguise a month ago. "I thought they would have a sense of humor about it," says Diller. But the club's brass, which may reprimand Rose, found the stunt a drag in every way. Club Director Jean-Pierre Trebot vows to "increase security." How? Well, he concedes, "we're not about to frisk everybody."

Country cousins: Stallone and Parton at work in *Rhinestone*

■

Others may have been treating it as a joke, but **Johnny Carson,** 58, was not amused. His wife of ten years, **Joanna,** had filed papers seeking support from him, pending the resolution of the couple's divorce. The requested amount: $220,000 a month. And what did she need roughly $7,000 a day for? Her postnuptial monthly bills include $580 to maintain a Rolls and a Mercedes, $1,400 for groceries and an improbably precise $37,065 for furs and jewelry. Johnny was astonished, but not out of his wits. "I heard from my cat's lawyer," he cracked during one of his TV monologues last week. "My cat wants $12,000 a week for Tender Vittles." Meow.

■

It's difficult to imagine **Virginia Woolf's** writing for big laughs, but that is exactly what she did in her only play, *Freshwater,* which was first staged in 1935 for the amusement of the novelist's Bloomsbury friends. Woolf's unlikely work was resurrected for a two-day run at New York University last week with an equally unlikely cast, which included avant-garde Novelist **Alain Robbe-Grillet,** 61, and absurdist Playwright **Eugene Ionesco,** 70. To add to the oddities, this version was in French, having been translated for a Paris production last December. Ionesco, who made his American act-

Ionesco in Woolf's *Freshwater*

ing debut in the production, portrayed Alfred Tennyson in the broad farce. He discovered, however, that being profoundly silly can be taxing, even in a play written for an amateur cast. "I suffered a lot during the rehearsals," he observes. "I'm no longer as young as I once was." —*By Guy D. Garcia*

A dapper Diller with Rose at Friars' roast

A Burlington Coat Factory Warehouse outlet in Paramus, N.J.: disputes and lawsuits against full-service retailers

Economy & Business

Off-Price but on Target

Selling name brands cheap, upstart chains give traditional clothiers fits

It was a telling vignette from a department-store owner's nightmare. Walking through the designer-dresses floor of Saks Fifth Avenue's flagship Manhattan outlet last week, a fashionably dressed woman was asked what she intended to buy. She replied: "I'm just window-shopping here so I can find something good that I like. As soon as I do, I'm going back home to my off-price merchant and get it much cheaper."

More and more Americans are doing just that. They have discovered that they can usually buy Ralph Lauren shirts, Jaeger sweaters and Albert Nipon dresses for 30% to 60% below retail by shopping at off-price stores. Since 1979, sales at Syms, T.J. Maxx, Marshalls and similar outlets have more than doubled, to an estimated $7 billion. Industry analysts expect them to continue to grow at an average pace of 20% to 25% a year. Says Edward Brennan, head of Sears retail stores: "There is no question that off-price retailers are becoming a big factor in the industry."

Much of their gains have come at the expense of traditional department stores. Now those merchants are mounting a counterattack. After seeing their customer base eroded mostly by discount stores in the 1960s and then by specialty shops in the 1970s, they are reworking merchandising strategies. Many are shedding stodgy departments, strengthening customer service and sharpening price competition. A few are using more aggressive tactics. As a result, disputes between off-price and full-service retailers are increasingly winding up in lawsuits.

The struggle is all the more intense because retailers expect 1983's fall and Christmas selling seasons to bring to a rousing conclusion the best year they have had since 1979. The recovery is continuing to steam along. Last week the Commerce Department reported that the gross national product grew at a healthy annual rate of 7.9% from July through September, down just a bit from the 9.7% pace during the second quarter. Consumer spending jumped 1.5% in September, fueled by a .9% increase in personal income. Says Marshall Field Chairman Philip Miller: "A lot of pent-up buying is going on now. It promises to be a terrific fourth quarter."

Although they have existed on the fringes of retailing for nearly three generations, off-price stores did not really catch on in a big way until a few years ago. The impetus was two-pronged. Inflation-afflicted and recession-burdened shoppers began to watch their expenditures more closely and seek greater values. At the same time, they were developing a taste for nationally recognized brands and designer-name merchandise because these goods symbolized higher quality, not to mention status. It was not long before consumers discovered that they could get name-brand goods more cheaply in the converted warehouse near the railroad tracks than they could in the slightly shabby downtown store where Mother had always shopped.

Off-price stores fit into a gray area between discounters and full-service stores that sell goods at a more or less full markup. Discount stores pay wholesale prices to suppliers but cut costs on their overhead so they can sell below retail. Off-price stores, on the other hand, often buy below wholesale. They load up on manufacturers' overruns and end-of-season goods, and often get special deals for buying in large quantities. Unlike discounters, many specialize in designer labels that have proven consumer appeal.

Los Angeles–area shoppers who enter the renovated medical building that houses Rick Pallack in Sherman Oaks, for example, find garments bearing such well-advertised labels as Alexander Julian, Perry Ellis and Alan Flusser. Boasts Owner Pallack: "I sell a sport coat that might go on Rodeo Drive for $400 for only $250." Pallack also displays merchandise with his own label, which he claims is often identical to designer wear and made by the same manufacturers. Says he: "Our dress shirt doesn't have the polo player on it, but it's the same as Ralph Lauren's and sells for 40% less."

Department stores are combatting the success of off-price stores with several stratagems. Minneapolis-based Dayton's has become more price conscious and makes sure that its fashions are up to the minute. Says Executive Vice President Dean Baarda: "Off-pricers mostly have last year's merchandise." Boston's Filene's is enhancing its customer service. It has expanded its training program for salesclerks from two hours to up to 24 hours and asked customers to evaluate each sales transaction. Both Dayton's and Filene's are placing greater emphasis on their lines of private-label merchandise. Private labels guarantee exclusivity for whoever sells them and also give department stores greater flexibility in setting prices.

To keep their high-fashion image, some department stores are privately threatening to cease ordering from designers who sell to what they consider to

Selecting slacks in Boston at Zayre's Hit or Miss shop

Picking through racks of blouses at a Marshalls store in Chicago

be less desirable outlets. New York City's Bergdorf Goodman stopped carrying Halston clothes when it discovered that the designer had created a line of clothing for J.C. Penney that included $100 dresses (compared with $1,000 to $2,000 for a typical Halston dress at Bergdorf's). Says President Ira Neimark: "We decided that designers and retailers have to decide who their customers are. Halston made his decision, and we have made ours."

Fearful of losing their merchandise sources, off-price stores are taking to the courts. Burlington Coat Factory Warehouse has sued R.H. Macy & Co. for helping manufacturers fix prices. Kids "R" Us, a new outlet for off-price children's clothing owned by Toys "R" Us, sued Federated Department Stores, owner of Bloomingdale's, and the makers of Izod/Lacoste alligator-emblazoned shirts. It accused them of conspiring to prevent Kids "R" Us from selling Izod merchandise.

Several of the most successful retail chains have decided to co-opt the competition by going into off-price merchandising themselves. Dayton Hudson (1982 sales: $5.7 billion) has opened four stores in California called Plums . . . the Elegant Discounter. Associated Dry Goods (sales: $3.2 billion), owner of Lord & Taylor, acquired Loehmann's earlier this year *(see box)*. K mart (sales: $16.8 billion) has opened 14 off-price outlets called Designer Depot.

One of the most aggressive entrants is Zayre, a Massachusetts-based discount chain (sales: $2.1 billion). Off-price sales are the fastest-growing part of its business. This year it added 92 outlets to its chain of women's Hit or Miss stores, which now number 352, and expanded its T.J. Maxx family clothiers from 86 to 118 stores.

Like the department stores, several mass merchandisers are having to re-examine their strategies in order to become more competitive. "The day of the old 'we've got everything' general store is over," says Ira Quint, executive vice president of merchandising for Montgomery Ward. J.C. Penney, in addition to adding Halston's line, has expanded its apparel selections and eliminated its old automotive, large-appliance and hardware businesses. Sears still sells DieHard batteries and Kenmore washing machines, but it is giving more emphasis to sportswear endorsed by Cheryl Tiegs and Arnold Palmer.

Some carriage-trade stores are not bowing to the new trend at all. Houston's Sakowitz plans no changes in its pricing policies. Vice Chairman Irving Weiner compares shopping in his store to consuming a gourmet meal. Says he: "You have a choice of eating in a cafeteria or eating in a fine French restaurant. You get the same amount of calories in both." Fortunately for U.S. consumers, their choice of which calories to buy—and which level of check to pay—has never been greater. ***—By Alexander L. Taylor III. Reported by Russell Leavitt/Los Angeles and Adam Zagorin/New York***

Momma's Legacy

Loehmann's, one of the first bargain retailers and lately one of the fastest growing, does not have customers; it has addicts. Says one shopper, a woman who works for a New York advertising agency: "When I miss a week, I feel as though I've missed out on something. My stomach gets tight and I feel sick." Lauren Bacall, in her autobiography, *By Myself*, cites Loehmann's nine times or so. Betty Ford was a devotee. Former Macy's Executive George Greenberg, 60, Loehmann's chairman and president, recalls a woman approaching him and saying: "Coming to Loehmann's is like therapy for me."

Loehmann's has been affecting its clientele this way since 1920, when Freida Loehmann opened a clothing shop under her Brooklyn apartment, started paying cash to top makers for garment overruns and selling them at deep discounts, also for cash. By the time she died at 88 in 1962, "Momma" Loehmann was a force in the retailing of women's clothing. Today, with its headquarters store and central warehouse located in The Bronx, Loehmann's is spread over 25 states in 65 stores, nearly 40 of which opened during the past ten years. The chain had sales this year of about $270 million.

TERRY HOUBIGAN
Greenberg and staffer in warehouse

Loehmann's rigorously no-frills outlets carry no shoes or lingerie. Credit cards are not accepted, nor are returns. Salespeople provide little service. Dressing areas are communal, mirrored rooms with harsh lighting, places of pandemonium on weekends. Women enter, check modesty at the door, and frantically try on designer fashions with no labels but with thinly disguised codes on price tags: RL is Ralph Lauren, GEB Geoffrey Beene, BLA Bill Blass.

Prices usually run 33% to 50% under those at traditional retailers for accessories, skirts and dresses, right on up to discounted sable coats for $25,000. Loehmann's was sold in 1980 to a group of private investors for $68 million, in cash, of course, and then in May of this year to Associated Dry Goods for $96 million, again in cash. Associated's new ownership of Loehmann's amounts to a princess's consorting with a shopgirl; its other properties include New York's Lord & Taylor, one of the most dressed-up stores in America.

Busy Signals

Confusion for A T & T

As the New Year's Day deadline for the breakup of the giant Bell System draws closer, both the company and the Government are maneuvering like wide receivers before the ball is snapped, in most cases causing great confusion. Last week three pre-breakup decisions were announced. One will delay until April a scheduled rise in local phone bills. Another will remove all vestiges of Government regulation from long-distance rates charged by competitors of A T & T. The third will reduce the worth of A T & T by billions of dollars.

The last decision befits the galactic proportions of the breakup, involving as it does the world's largest company. A T & T Chairman Charles Brown said at a press conference that the company planned to shrink its worth by $5.2 billion at year's end. That means that the largest divestiture in history will be preceded by the largest financial write-down in history.

About $1.4 billion of the reduction will come from technical accounting changes required by the divestiture. The remaining $3.8 billion will reflect write-offs of old telephone equipment. Brown said that the company could no longer afford to carry on its books at inflated values the portion of its physical plant that advancing technology has made obsolete.

For example, despite its increasing use of fiber-optic-cable systems that carry far more conversations at lower cost, A T & T is stuck with millions of miles of old-fashioned copper wire and coaxial cable. Also on its books are millions of old dial telephones, built to work for 40 years but less versatile than newer high-tech models like its Touch-matic, which automatically dials up to 15 numbers.

The write-off will be made against 1983 profits, meaning that the company's earnings will be reduced by the $5.2 billion amount. Explaining the decision to apply the full write-down in a single stroke, Brown said: "It is generally considered more comfortable to take a dog's tail off all at once, rather than an inch at a time." Profits have been lackluster anyway. In the year's third quarter, A T & T profits fell 28%, to $1.46 billion, continuing a long decline. One reason was the anticipated costs of divestiture. Another, said Brown, was the "lingering effect of recession" on revenues from telecommunications.

Wall Street analysts have been expecting the write-down for some time. They were stunned, however, by its size. More surprising, and potentially more significant, was a decision by the Federal Communications Commission. Earlier, the FCC agreed to impose special long-distance access charges on phone bills, starting Jan. 1. The reason: when the seven regional operating companies are broken away from Ma Bell, local service will no longer be subsidized by long-distance rates. About 15¢ for each minute of long-distance tolls has gone to support local telephone service. After divestiture, phone users, instead of paying for their local lines in the form of higher prices for long-distance calls, will pay for them in the form of the flat access charge.

Savings to A T & T from the access charges will be $3 billion to $3.5 billion. It is proposing reductions in long-distance rates, though, of only $1.75 billion. But last week the FCC, after looking into A T & T's figures, delayed until April 3 the imposition of the access charges, which range from $2 for private residential lines up to $6 for businesses. Brown described the FCC's switch as "astounding." Said he: It "throws existing plans awry." The access charges have been under attack since they were first proposed by the FCC. They have become a target of Washington politicians who see them as burdensome to their poorer constituents and are pressing for two bills to block them.

Chairman Brown at press conference

The FCC "throws existing plans awry."

The FCC also decided to lift all rate regulation from MCI, Sprint and the other emerging long-distance carriers that compete with A T & T's long-distance service, and that in most cases already undercut its prices. The move was largely symbolic. The new long-distance carriers have been regulated scarcely at all since their inception. Nevertheless, A T & T was hardly happy about the decision. The FCC left A T & T fully regulated, as the dominant carrier by far of long-distance calls. The company still must submit rate changes to the Government and justify them with elaborate data. Said an A T & T official: "It's unfair to unleash our competition while forcing us to play by the old rules." ■

GM Settles Up

A $42.5 million agreement

The job-discrimination complaint was one of the most ambitious ever brought by the Federal Government. Filed by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the ten-year-old proceeding accused giant General Motors (1982 sales: $60 billion) of failing to hire and promote enough women and minority-group members. Last week GM completed seven months of intense negotiations with the agency by promising to spend $42.5 million over five years to increase the representation of women and minorities at all levels of the company. The agreement, which the automaker consented to without admitting to any of the charges, was the largest settlement yet of an E.E.O.C. complaint.

The agreement was novel in another way. While past discrimination settlements have focused on remedies like the payment of back wages, the GM terms require the automaker to invest heavily in worker education and training. They call, for example, for GM to earmark $15 million for scholarships and college and university endowments. As a result of this aid, more than 100,000 women and minorities, together with their families, will be eligible to attend classes at 28 U.S. institutions. GM will spend an additional $8.9 million to train 1,250 white-collar workers for better-paying and more responsible jobs within the company.

By the end of last year, women accounted for about 17% of the car manufacturer's nearly 450,000 U.S. employees; minorities constituted some 17.5%. Many of the new gains are expected to come in white-collar positions. Only some 6.5% of GM's managers are women, for example, while minorities make up 8.9%. Said one company official: "I would suspect we're going to see more emphasis on moving women and minorities up through the ranks of the organization."

■ ■ ■

General Motors, in a particularly hectic week, became part of another Government action when the Environmental Protection Agency ordered it to recall 112,000 of its 1979 Chevrolet Chevettes for exceeding maximum federal standards for carbon-monoxide emissions. GM said separately that it is calling back 367,700 vehicles, produced mainly during the 1983 model year, to correct defects involving brakes. In addition, a federal judge released confidential company documents reportedly indicating that GM knew that its 1980 X-model autos had brake problems before it started producing the cars. The material was assembled in connection with a Justice Department suit demanding that GM recall all 1.1 million of the 1980 X-models. ■

EnGulfing

Oilman Pickens rides again

Next to racquetball, playing poker and flying in his Learjet, there are few pastimes that Texas Oilman T. Boone Pickens Jr., 55, enjoys more than swooping down on vulnerable companies and giving their managers the willies. During the past 16 months, Pickens has earned $105.7 million for his company, Mesa Petroleum, by buying up large amounts of undervalued stocks and selling them at a handsome profit, sometimes back to the company whose stock he bought. Early this year, for example, he bought a large stake in Superior Oil, then in September sold it back to Superior for a $31.8 million profit.

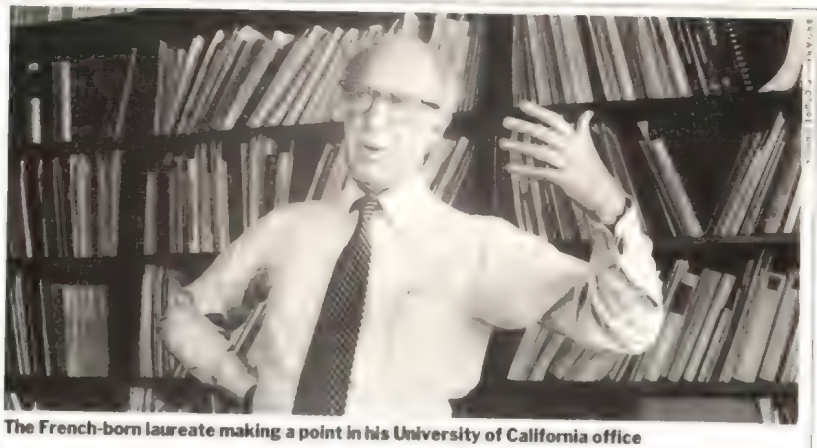
Now Pickens is at it again. This time his target is Gulf Oil, the nation's fifth largest oil company (1982 sales: $30.6 billion). Pickens announced last week that he and a group of investors had bought $630 million worth of Gulf stock, or 14.5 million shares. He said they had put together a $1.1 billion nest egg to buy all the Gulf stock they could get their hands on.

"Very simply," said Pickens, "we're buying the stock for investment purposes. Gulf stock is selling at a huge discount when compared to appraised value." So it is. Some analysts believe Gulf is worth as much as $114 a share; it closed last week just under $47. In papers filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Pickens group indicated some changes they might like to make at Gulf to build the stock's value. Among them: selling oil and gas holdings to shareholders in the form of a royalty trust. This device, first used in 1979 at Mesa, would have the effect of avoiding double taxation (first as corporate profits, then as shareholder dividends).

Gulf was taking Pickens' maneuverings seriously. It reportedly set up a $4 billion credit line to defend its stock, possibly by buying it back. And the company called a special shareholders' meeting for Dec. 2 to consider, among other items, the way directors are elected. The idea, presumably, would be to make it harder for Pickens to win a seat on the Gulf board.

Pickens disclaimed any interest in winning such a seat: "I'm already on too many boards." He accused the company of attempting to shut off Mesa's credit by threatening to withdraw its business from banks where Mesa borrows money.

Analysts believe, though, that Pickens will wind up selling his stock back to Gulf at a profit, and that all the fuss will serve mainly to stir up Gulf's corporate waters. Terry H. Smith, a New Orleans oil analyst, suggests that this is as it should be. Pickens performs a service, Smith says, just by "shaking up companies and making them less complacent." ■



The French-born laureate making a point in his University of California office

"An Economist's Economist"

Theoretician Gerard Debreu wins the Nobel Prize

It was a thin book, just 114 pages long and studded with mathematical symbols, but it addressed one of the deepest and most nagging problems in economics. Titled *Theory of Value*, the 1959 work made its author Gerard Debreu a revered figure among his colleagues. Last week the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences extended Debreu's fame far beyond such professional confines. The academy announced that it was awarding the 1983 Nobel Prize in Economics to Debreu, 62, for three decades of distinguished achievement. The French-born professor of economics and mathematics at the University of California at Berkeley, a U.S. citizen since 1975, becomes the twelfth American to win the economics prize since it was first awarded in 1969.

Unlike past laureates, like George Stigler, the 1982 winner who has been critical of government regulation, Debreu is purely a theorist. "We have never before awarded the prize for contributions of such pure basic research," said Assar Lindbeck, chairman of the five-member Nobel committee. Notes Bent Hanson, chairman of the Berkeley economics department: "Gerard Debreu is an economist's economist. His work is very abstract, very fundamental. But everyone in the profession quotes him and must demonstrate that they know his work."

Debreu's 1959 classic showed that a freely competitive economy can, in theory, reach a state in which supply balances demand in every market and there are neither shortages nor surpluses of any product. Such a condition is called "general equilibrium." Economists have always known that supply could equal demand in a single market, such as the ones for cars or oranges. But, before Debreu, they could not be certain that an entire economy could, at least theoretically if not necessarily in fact, be in equilibrium.

The Berkeley economist's theoretical bent leads him to shun disputes such as those waged by liberal Keynesians and conservative monetarists. "I do not consider myself involved in economic policy in any way," he says. Nevertheless, his work does have some practical applications in the hands of other economists. According to Stanford Economist Kenneth Arrow, a 1972 Nobel winner who has worked closely with Debreu, equilibrium theory is used by private forecasters and government planners to predict such things as the impact of a tax change on various industries.

Friends say Debreu, who moved permanently to the U.S. in 1950, still retains many European habits. A formal but friendly man, he eats lunch at home every day and later has only a light supper, often after a swim in a university pool. He likes to exercise on weekends by tramping 20 miles through the wilderness of Point Reyes National Seashore north of San Francisco. Despite his mathematician's passion for precision and clarity, his literary taste runs to the richly convoluted prose of Proust. As a teacher, Debreu is known for jotting mathematical formulas in the upper left-hand corner of a blackboard at the beginning of a lecture and then gradually covering every bit of remaining space with symbols, until he ends up in the lower right-hand corner. His most striking qualities, says Stanford's Arrow, are "the quickness of his mind and the elegance of his thought."

Debreu, who will pocket $192,000 with his prize, first learned of the award in a 3:45 a.m. telephone call from a New York radio news reporter. An ensuing flurry of calls from friends, colleagues and other journalists kept Debreu and his wife Françoise from any thought of returning to sleep. Hours later, the former French army officer was posing for pictures and answering questions while padding about his living room in a red silk robe and navy-blue pajamas. By the following night, however, Debreu had learned his lesson. Asked whether he had managed to sleep well following his recognition, Debreu replied: "Very well. We disconnected the telephone." ■

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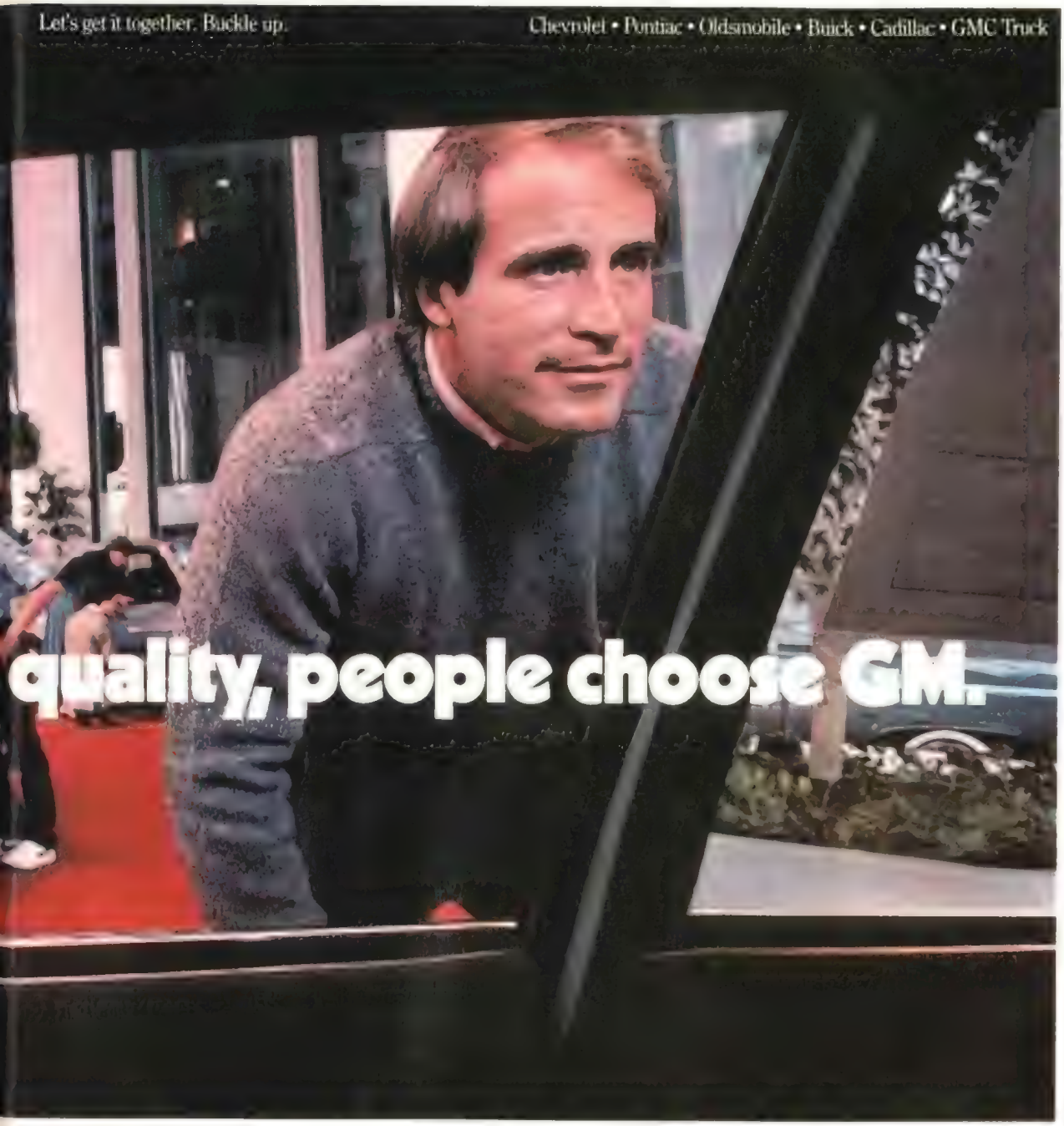

Nobody sweats the details like GM.

A $1.6 Billion Nuclear Fiasco

Mismanagement and safety lapses endanger an Ohio plant

Looming 479 feet over the Ohio River, the concrete cooling tower of the Wm. H. Zimmer Nuclear Power Station dwarfs tiny Moscow, Ohio (pop. 326), a village 23 miles east of Cincinnati. But the citizens of Moscow expect the Zimmer plant to change more than the local skyline. When completed, it will not only provide 810 megawatts of power to southern and central Ohio but also bring as many as 20 jobs to Moscow. In addition, notes Mayor Eugene Holland, it will mean more than $500,000 a year in property taxes.

MICHAEL E. KEATING—CINCINNATI ENQUIRER

Zimmer Power Station: improper records, bad welds and 15,000 NRC violations

"Every witness said they wanted to be at least 100 miles away from it."

The civic enthusiasm may be premature. The nuclear plant, under construction since 1972 and now 97% completed, may not begin operating for three more years, if it ever does. Its long and sometimes tumultuous development has been marked by runaway costs, faulty construction, mismanagement by the utilities that own it, and inadequate supervision by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC). Earlier this month the three owners—Cincinnati Gas & Electric, Dayton Power & Light, and Columbus & Southern Ohio Electric—began to consider their options. Among them was the sobering possibility of abandoning the project. Such a move would turn Zimmer into nuclear America's biggest white elephant to date, and a woeful, if extreme, example of the quality-control problems besetting other nuclear projects around the country.

Zimmer's costs have ballooned alarmingly. The initial estimate, in 1969, was $240 million. So far, the three utilities have spent $1.6 billion. The Bechtel Power Corp., brought in a year ago to help manage the plant's construction, last month came up with the latest projection. The proper completion of the plant, says Bechtel, would raise the total to a staggering $3.1 billion. While the utilities ponder whether to continue with Zimmer, interest charges on loans taken out as long ago as 1971 keep piling up. Each day's delay means $500,000 added to the tab.

Bechtel's estimate stunned Wall Street as well as the plant's owners. Cincinnati Gas President William Dickhoner tried to quell the fears of financiers, vowing to "consider very carefully the implications of such a dramatic increase." The following day, however, Moody's Investors Service downgraded the ratings of the three utilities. Two other services, Standard & Poor's and Duff & Phelps, put the utilities on a credit watch. Fearful of bankruptcy, Columbus & Southern Ohio Electric and Dayton Power & Light have asked the Hamilton County Common Pleas Court to rule on who would be liable for the $1.6 billion should the project collapse. Says Gerald Morgan, an analyst with Prudential-Bache Securities: "You have the three utilities fighting among themselves as to who is to blame for all the mismanagement."

Beyond Zimmer's financial debacle lies the issue of shoddy construction at the plant. In an effort to contain costs, Cincinnati Gas tried to skimp on quality-control measures and personnel. In November 1981, the NRC fined the utility $200,000 after discovering the first of some 15,000 violations of its quality-assurance regulations. A year later, the commission halted construction because of Cincinnati Gas' continued failure to meet its quality guidelines, the first time that the NRC had ever taken such a step when construction was so far advanced. Some of the steel used at Zimmer was scrap that was arbitrarily upgraded on the site. About 70% of the welds on the plant's structural beams did not meet industry standards. To test the welds now, inspectors will in some cases have to cut out at random one made by each of the hundreds of welders who have worked on the project, examine it and then accept or reject the rest of that welder's work on the basis of the sample. Given the difficulties of these and other tests, the utilities may find it easier simply to junk the plant.

The construction problems were discovered almost by accident. Private Detective Thomas Applegate, 32, hired by Cincinnati Gas in 1979, concluded that safety-related building lapses posed a greater danger to the plant than the doctored timecards he had been directed to investigate. The utility ignored Applegate's allegations and fired him in 1980.

Utility Head Dickhoner

Whistle Blower Devine

He turned to the NRC, which after an initial investigation found no problems at Zimmer. Applegate then appealed to the Institute for Policy Studies, a Washington think tank with a history of championing Government whistle blowers. Thomas Devine, a lawyer with a division of the institute, agreed to challenge the NRC findings and to charge the agency with violating its own ground rules for investigations. Says Devine: "I realized that this was a very dangerous power plant when every witness I talked to said that once the plant was finally done and it was switched on, they wanted to be at least 100 miles away from it."

Prodded by Devine's charges, the NRC made a second investigation and discovered that Cincinnati Gas did not keep proper records of the welds or of the origin of materials used at the plant, and did not test welds according to NRC specifications. The agency labeled the quality of work at Zimmer "indeterminate." Meanwhile Devine was able to show, as a result of a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit he brought in federal court, that an NRC official had ordered his investigators to withhold and even destroy documents disclosing problems at Zimmer. James Cummings, director of the NRC's Office of Inspector and Auditor since

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1978, was transferred out of his job as the controversy grew. Cummings claims that the agency lost confidence in him after he forgot to turn over key documents. Says he: "I simply screwed up, and I've been going all around town saying *mea culpas* ever since."

Despite its uniquely disastrous features, Zimmer is far from the only instance of mismanagement among nuclear facilities. For example, of the five plants belonging to the ill-starred Washington Public Power Supply System (WPPSS), known as Whoops, only one, Project No. 2, stands a chance of being completed soon. "Zimmer is clearly the glaring example of construction goof-ups," says Jan Strasma, a spokesman for the NRC, "but there are other plants [being built] around the country where the quality-control program has fallen on its face." Among them:

▸ Clinton Nuclear Power Plant No. 1, near Clinton, Ill. At the time construction began in 1976, this plant was expected to cost $429 million. The latest estimate: $2.8 billion. During its construction, it has suffered delays because of safety and design problems. Says Strasma: "They just got so far behind in doing inspections that they finally had to stop construction to get caught up." Its completion has been moved back from 1984 to 1986.

▸ South Texas Nuclear Plant, Bay City, Texas. Houston Power & Lighting broke ground for this plant in 1976, when it was expected to cost $1 billion and be in operation by 1981. Because of quality-control costs, design changes, and construction delays that prompted litigation, its price tag has grown to almost $5.5 billion. It may go on line in mid-1987.

▸ Diablo 2, Diablo Canyon, Calif. Owned by Pacific Gas & Electric and begun in 1970, Diablo has encountered errors in design aggravated by the fact that it is positioned over a major fault in the earth. These complications have helped pump up the cost estimate from $420 million to $4 billion and delayed its opening by ten years. It is expected to begin operations next year.

Under belated pressure from the NRC, Cincinnati Gas has begun revamping its Zimmer program. Most of the old managers have been removed, and Retired Admiral Joe Williams Jr., a former Atlantic Fleet submarine commander, has been named Zimmer's new top manager. He is awaiting the results of a Nov. 1 public meeting in Cincinnati, where Cincinnati Gas' proposed new program for Zimmer will be discussed before the NRC rules on it. "What I'd like now," says Williams, "is for people to stand back and let us complete the plant properly, as cheaply as possible." —*By Robert T. Grieves. Reported by Jay Branegan/Washington and Barbara B. Dolan/Moscow, Ohio*

Dividends

Turning on the Juice

Procter & Gamble does everything in a big way. The company is the $12 billion enterprise behind such household names as Charmin, Folger's, Crest and Crisco. When P&G decides to add a new product to this list, competitors view the marketing assault as a D-day invasion, and with good reason. Last week P&G launched Citrus Hill, its entry into the $3 billion market for chilled and frozen orange juice. "There's a year of sunshine in every sip," goes the slogan for the ads that blossomed on TV and in newspapers. The commercials portray a citrus grower who says, "That is one sunshiny, sweet-tastin' orange juice." Cost of the national blitz: an estimated $100 million.

P&G hopes that Citrus Hill will put the squeeze on the two leading brands, Coca-Cola's Minute Maid and Beatrice Foods' Tropicana. In test markets in Indiana and Iowa during the past year, Citrus Hill has reportedly grabbed a respectable 14% to 17% market share. But P&G hopes to better that next year when it replaces its current Citrus Hill formula with a patented concentrate produced by freezing the fresh juice rather than boiling it. A marketing battle is likely to ensue. Said a Tropicana spokesman: "We intend to aggressively defend every area where we're doing business."

Breathe Before You Weave

In the widespread efforts to round up drunken drivers, more and more motorists are being confronted by a piece of law-enforcement technology called the blood-alcohol tester. Several companies are competing to fill the demand for these devices as police departments equip their officers for tactics like spot-check roadblocks.

The machines have come a long way in speed and accuracy since the days when suspects were asked to blow into a glass vial for a wet chemical test. The latest version of Smith & Wesson's $4,300 Breathalyzer measures the level of alcohol in a suspect's blood by projecting an infrared beam through a sample of breath blown into the machine. Massachusetts State Police, whose arrests for drunken driving in the past three months have increased 48% over last year, bought 35 of the new Breathalyzers in August.

Other products are even more portable and flexible. Intoximeters Inc. of St. Louis produces the transistor radio–size Alco-Sensor, which is being used for roadside tests by police in cities like New York. The $390 device gives a digital read-out when the suspect breathes into its plastic mouthpiece. In July, Allstate Distributors of Marietta, Ga., introduced a coin-operated tester for use in taverns. The patron blows into the $2,495 machine through a disposable straw. If the user is over the legal limit, the machine flashes a red-light warning that says, DON'T DRIVE. What happens after that is between the drinker and his conscience.

Reel Excursions

When Advertising Executive and native Bostonian James Ryan, 52, got the itch to revisit his city's historic sights, he shrank from the prospect of whizzing past them on a crowded tour bus. Solution: he popped a prerecorded tape into his personal cassette player, consulted a small map that came with the tape, and set off by himself on foot.

While the tape used such sound effects as chanting crowds and pealing bells to dramatize pre–Revolutionary War events, a relaxed narrator guided Ryan along Boston's Freedom Trail, even anticipating his questions about the locations of telephones and restrooms. Ryan rated the tour "first class." Said he: "It's fun to have your memory awakened."

Produced by a local firm called the November Co., "Boston Walkabouts" sell for $10.95 in hotels, airport gift shops and bookstores. Similar guides to five New York City neighborhoods are being offered by Pathfinder Productions. Another New York company, Acoustiguide, produces taped tours of such smaller cities as Savannah, Ga., and Galveston, Texas, designed to be rented for $3 to $7.

Taped tours have become more practical now that cumbersome recorders have been replaced by lightweight personal stereos. Says Pathfinder President Herman Eckrich: "Business has all of a sudden caught fire."

Luther: Giant of His Time and Ours

Half a millennium after his birth, the first Protestant is still a towering force

It was a back-room deal, little different from many others struck at the time, but it triggered an upheaval that altered irrevocably the history of the Western world. Albrecht of Brandenburg, a German nobleman who had previously acquired a dispensation from the Vatican to become a priest while underage and to head two dioceses at the same time, wanted yet another favor from the Pope: the powerful archbishop's chair in Mainz. Pope Leo X, a profligate spender who needed money to build St. Peter's Basilica, granted the appointment—for 24,000 gold pieces, roughly equal to the annual imperial revenues in Germany. It was worth it. Besides being a rich source of income, the Mainz post brought Albrecht a vote for the next Holy Roman Emperor, which could be sold to the highest bidder.

In return, Albrecht agreed to initiate the sale of indulgences in Mainz. Granted for good works, indulgences were papally controlled dispensations drawn from an eternal "treasury of merits" built up by Christ and the saints; the church taught that they would help pay the debt of "temporal punishment" due in purgatory for sins committed by either the penitent or any deceased person. The Pope received half the proceeds of the Mainz indulgence sale, while the other half went to repay the bankers who had lent the new archbishop the gold.

Enter Martin Luther, a 33-year-old priest and professor at Wittenberg University. Disgusted not only with the traffic in indulgences but with its doctrinal underpinnings, he forcefully protested to Albrecht—never expecting that his action would provoke a sweeping uprising against a corrupt church. Luther's challenge culminated in the Protestant Reformation and the rending of Western Christendom, and made him a towering figure in European history. In this 500th anniversary year of his birth (Nov. 10, 1483), the rebel of Wittenberg remains the subject of persistent study. It is said that more books have been written about him than anyone else in history, save his own master, Jesus Christ. The renaissance in Luther scholarship surrounding this year's anniversary serves as a reminder that his impact on modern life is profound, even for those who know little about the doctrinal feuds that brought him unsought fame. From the distance of half a millennium, the man who, as Historian Hans Hillerbrand of Southern Methodist University in Dallas says, brought Christianity from lofty theological dogma to a clearer and more personal belief is still able to stimulate more heated debate than all but a handful of historical figures.

RUDI FREY

A statue of the reformer stares defiantly across Eisenach, East Germany

To some Catholic scholars, he has even become a "father in the faith."

Indeed, as the reformer who fractured Christianity, Luther has latterly become a key to reuniting it. With the approval of the Vatican, and with Americans taking the lead, Roman Catholic theologians are working with Lutherans and other Protestants to sift through the 16th century disputes and see whether the Protestant-Catholic split can some day be overcome. In a remarkable turnabout, Catholic scholars today express growing appreciation of Luther as a "father in the faith" and are willing to play down his excesses. According to a growing consensus, the great division need never have happened at all.

Beyond his importance as a religious leader, Luther had a profound effect on Western culture. He is, paradoxically, the last medieval man and the first modern one, a political conservative and a spiritual revolutionary. His impact is most marked, of course, in Germany, where he laid the cultural foundations for what later became a united German nation.

When Luther attacked the indulgence business in 1517, he was not only the most popular teacher at Wittenberg but also vicar provincial in charge of eleven houses of the Hermits of St. Augustine. He was brilliant, tireless and a judicious administrator, though given to bouts of spiritual depression. To make his point on indulgences, Luther dashed off 95 theses condemning the system ("They preach human folly who pretend that as soon as money in the coffer rings, a soul from purgatory springs") and sent them to Archbishop Albrecht and a number of theologians.*

The response was harsh: the Pope eventually rejected Luther's protest and demanded capitulation. It was then that Luther began asking questions about other aspects of the church, including the papacy itself. In 1520 he charged in an open letter to the Pope, "The Roman Church, once the holiest of all, has become the most licentious den of thieves, the most shameless of brothels, the kingdom of sin, death and hell." Leo called Luther "the wild boar which has invaded the Lord's vineyard."

The following year Luther was summoned to recant his writings before the Diet of Worms, a council of princes convened by the young Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. In his closing defense, Luther proclaimed defiantly: "Unless I am convinced by testimony from Holy Scriptures and clear proofs based on reason—because, since it is notorious that they have erred and contradicted themselves, I cannot believe either the Pope or the council alone—I am bound by conscience and the Word of God. Therefore I can and will recant nothing, because to act against one's conscience is neither safe nor salutary. So help me God." (Experts today think that he did not actually speak the famous words, "Here I stand. I can do no other.")

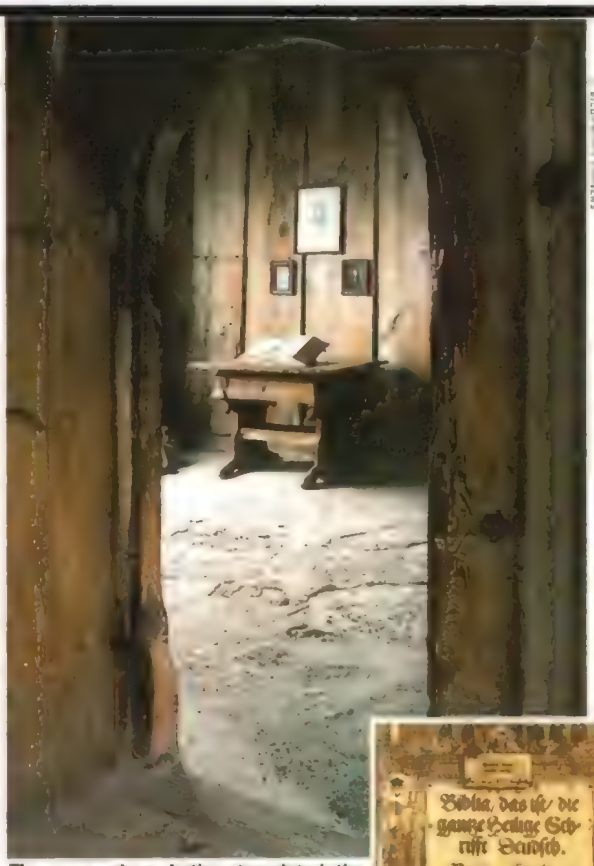
This was hardly the cry of a skeptic, but it was ample grounds for the Emperor to put Luther under sentence of death as a heretic. Instead of being executed, Luther lived for another 25 years, became a major author and composer of hymns, father of a bustling household and a secular fig-

*Despite colorful legend, it is not certain he ever nailed them to the door of the Castle Church

ure who opposed rebellion—in all, a commanding force in European affairs. In the years beyond, the abiding split in Western Christendom developed, including a large component of specifically "Lutheran" churches that today have 69 million adherents in 85 nations.

The enormous presence of the Wittenberg rebel, the sheer force of his personality, still broods over all Christendom, not just Lutheranism. Although Luther declared that the Roman Pontiffs were the "Antichrist," today's Pope, in an anniversary tip of the zucchetto, mildly speaks of Luther as "the reformer." Ecumenical-minded Catholic theologians have come to rank Luther in importance with Augustine and Aquinas. "No one who came after Luther could match him," says Father Peter Manns, a Catholic theologian in Mainz. "On the question of truth, Luther is a lifesaver for Christians." While Western Protestants still express embarrassment over Luther's anti-Jewish rantings or his skepticism about political clergy, Communist East Germany has turned him into a secular saint because of his influence on German culture. Party Boss Erich Honecker, head of the regime's *Luther-jahr* committee, is willing to downplay Luther's antirevolutionary ideas, using the giant figure to bolster national pride.

Said West German President Karl Carstens, as he opened one of the hundreds of events commemorating Luther this year: "Luther has become a symbol of the unity of all Germany. We are all Luther's heirs."



The room where Luther translated the New Testament; title page of his Bible

After five centuries, scholars still have difficulty coming to terms with the contradictions of a tempestuous man. He was often inexcusably vicious in his writings (he wrote, for instance, that one princely foe was a "faint-hearted wretch and fearful sissy" who should "do nothing but stand like a eunuch, that is, a harem guard, in a fool's cap with a fly swatter"). Yet he was kindly in person and so generous to the needy that his wife despaired of balancing the household budget. When the plague struck Wittenberg and others fled, he stayed behind to minister to the dying. He was a powerful spiritual author, yet his words on other occasions were so scatological that no Lutheran periodical would print them today. His writing was hardly systematic, and his output runs to more than 100 volumes. On the average, Luther wrote a major tract or treatise every two weeks throughout his life.

The scope of Luther's work has made him the subject of endless reinterpretation. The Enlightenment treated him as the father of free thought, conveniently omitting his belief in a sovereign God who inspired an authoritative Bible. During the era of Otto von Bismarck a century ago, Luther was fashioned into a nationalistic symbol; 70 years later, Nazi propagandists claimed him as one of their own by citing his anti-Jewish polemics.

All scholars agree on Luther's importance for German culture, surpassing even that of Shakespeare on the English-speaking world. Luther's masterpiece was his translation of the New Testament from Greek into German, largely completed in ten weeks while he was in hiding after the Worms confrontation, and of the Old Testament, published in 1534 with the assistance of Hebrew experts. The Luther Bible sold massively in his lifetime and remains today the authorized German Protestant version. Before Luther's Bible was published, there was no standard German, just a profusion of dialects. "It was Luther," said Johann Gottfried von Herder, one of Goethe's mentors, "who has awakened and let loose the giant: the German language."

Only a generation ago, Catholics were trained to consider Luther the arch-heretic. Now no less than the Vatican's specialist on Lutheranism, Monsignor Aloys Klein, says that "Martin Luther's action was beneficial to the Catholic Church." Like many other Catholics, Klein thinks that if Luther were living today there would be no split. Klein's colleague in the Vatican's Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, Father Pierre Duprey, suggests that with the Second Vatican Council (1962-65) Luther "got the council he asked for, but 450 years too late." Vatican II accepted his contention that, in a sense, all believers are priests; while the council left the Roman church's hierarchy intact, it enhanced the role of the laity. More important, the council moved the Bible to the center of Catholic life, urged continual reform and instituted worship in local languages rather than Latin.

One of the key elements in the Reformation was the question of "justification," the role of faith in relation to good works in justifying a sinner in the eyes of God. Actually, Catholicism had never officially taught that salvation could be attained only through pious works, but the popular perception held otherwise. Luther recognized, as University of Chicago Historian Martin Marty explains, that everything "in the system of Catholic teaching seemed aimed toward appeasing God. Luther was led to the idea of God not as an angry judge but as a forgiving father. It is a position that gives the individual a great sense of freedom and security." In effect, says U.S. Historian Roland Bainton, Luther destroyed the implication that men could "bargain with God."

Father George Tavard, a French Catholic expert on Protestantism who teaches in Ohio and has this month published *Justification: an Ecumenical Study* (Paulist; $7.95), notes that "today many Catholic scholars think Luther was right and the

Protestants praying at a festival in Erfurt, where Luther studied

16th century Catholic polemicists did not understand what he meant. Both Lutherans and Catholics agree that good works by Christian believers are the result of their faith and the working of divine grace in them, not their personal contributions to their own salvation. Christ is the only Savior. One does not save oneself." An international Lutheran-Catholic commission, exploring the basis for possible reunion, made a joint statement along these lines in 1980. Last month a parallel panel in the U.S. issued a significant 21,000-word paper on justification that affirms much of Luther's thinking, though with some careful hedging from the Catholic theologians.

Albrecht: selling salvation

There is doubt, of course, about the degree to which Protestants and Catholics can, in the end, overcome their differences. Catholics may now be permitted to sing Luther's *A Mighty Fortress Is Our God* or worship in their native languages, but a wide gulf clearly remains on issues like the status of Protestant ministers and, most crucially, papal authority.

During the futile Protestant-Catholic reunion negotiations in 1530 at the Diet of Augsburg, the issue of priestly celibacy was as big an obstacle as the faith *vs.* good works controversy. Luther had married a nun, to the disgust of his Catholic contemporaries. From the start, the marriage of clergy was a sharply defined difference between Protestantism and Catholicism, and it remains a key barrier today. By discarding the concept of the moral superiority of celibacy, Luther established sexuality as a gift from God. In general, he was a lover of the simple pleasures, and would have had little patience with the later Puritans. He spoke offhandedly about sex, enjoyed good-natured joshing, beer drinking and food ("If our Lord is permitted to create nice large pike and good Rhine wine, presumably I may be allowed to eat and drink"). For his time, he also had an elevated opinion of women. He cherished his wife and enjoyed fatherhood, siring six children and rearing eleven orphaned nieces and nephews as well.

But if Luther's views on the Catholic Church have come to be accepted even by many Catholics, his anti-Semitic views remain a problem for even his most devoted supporters. Says New York City Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum: "The anniversary will be marred by the haunting specter of Luther's devil theory of the Jews."

Luther assailed the Jews on doctrinal grounds, just as he excoriated "papists" and Turkish "infidels." But his work titled *On the Jews and Their Lies* (1543) went so far as to advocate that their synagogues, schools and homes should be destroyed and their prayer books and Talmudic volumes taken away. Jews were to be relieved of their savings and put to work as agricultural laborers or expelled outright.

Fortunately, the Protestant princes ignored such savage recommendations, and the Lutheran Church quickly forgot about them. But the words were there to be gleefully picked up by the Nazis, who removed them from the fold of religious polemics and used them to buttress their 20th century racism. For a good Lutheran, of course, the Bible is the sole authority, not Luther's writings, and the thoroughly Lutheran Scandinavia vigorously opposed Hitler's racist madness. In the anniversary year, all sectors of Lutheranism have apologized for their founder's views.

Whatever the impact of Luther's anti-Jewish tracts, there is no doubt that his political philosophy, which tended to make church people submit to state authority, was crucial in weakening opposition by German Lutherans to the Nazis. Probably no aspect of Luther's teaching is the subject of more agonizing Protes-

tant scrutiny in West Germany today.

Luther sought to declericalize society and to free people from economic burdens imposed by the church. But he was soon forced, if reluctantly, to deliver considerable control of the new Protestant church into the hands of secular rulers who alone could ensure the survival of the Reformation. Luther spoke of "two kingdoms," the spiritual and the secular, and his writings provided strong theological support for authoritarian government and Christian docility.

The Lutheran wing of the Reformation was democratic, but only in terms of the church itself, teaching that a plowman did God's work as much as a priest, encouraging lay leadership and seeking to educate one and all. But it was Calvin, not Luther, who created a theology for the democratic state. A related aspect of Luther's politics, controversial then and now, was his opposition to the bloody Peasants' War of 1525. The insurgents thought they were applying Luther's ideas, but he urged rulers to crush the revolt. "Let whoever can, stab, strike, kill." Support of the rulers was vital for the Reformation, but Luther loathed violent rebellion and anarchy in any case.

Today Luther's law-and-order approach is at odds with the revolutionary romanticism and liberation theology that are popular in some theology schools. In contrast with modern European Protestantism's social gospel, Munich Historian Thomas Nipperdey says, Luther "would not accept modern attempts to build a utopia and would argue, on the contrary, that we as mortal sinners are incapable of developing a paradise on earth."

Meanwhile, the internal state of the Lutheran Church raises other questions about the lasting power of Luther's vision. Lutheranism in the U.S., with 8.5 million adherents, is stable and healthy. The church is also growing in Third World strongholds like racially torn Namibia, where black Lutherans predominate. But in Lutheranism's historic heartland, the two Germanys and Scandinavia, there are deep problems. In East Germany Lutherans are under pressure from the Communist regime. In West Germany, the Evangelical Church in Germany (E.K.D.), a church federation that includes some non-Lutherans, is wealthy (annual income $3 billion), but membership is shrinking and attendance at Sunday services is feeble indeed. Only 6% of West Germans—or, for that matter, Scandinavians—worship regularly.

Leo X: raising revenue

What seems to be lacking in the old European churches is the passion for God and his truth that so characterizes Luther. He retains the potential to shake people out of religious complacency. Given Christianity's need, on all sides, for a good jolt, eminent Historian Heiko Oberman muses, "I wonder if the time of Luther isn't ahead of us."

The boldest assertion about Luther for modern believers is made by Protestants who claim that the reformer did nothing less than enable Christianity to survive. In the Middle Ages, too many Popes and bishops were little more than corrupt, luxury-loving politicians, neglecting the teaching of the love of God and using the fear of God to enhance their power and wealth. George Lindbeck, the Lutheran co-chairman of the international Lutheran-Catholic commission, believes that without Luther "religion would have been much less important during the next 400 to 500 years. And since medieval religion was falling apart, secularization would have marched on, unimpeded."

A provocative thesis, and a debatable one. But with secularization still marching on, almost unimpeded, Protestants and Catholics have much to reflect upon as they scan the five centuries after Luther and the shared future of their still divided churches. —*By Richard N. Ostling. Reported by Roland Flamini and Wanda Menke-Glückert/Bonn, with other bureaus*

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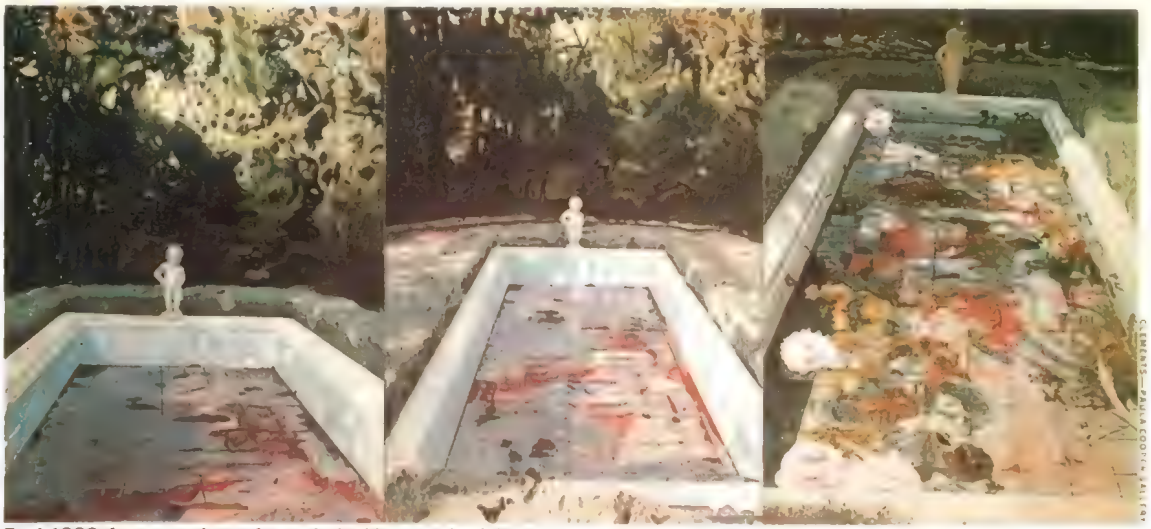

Pool, 1983: from snapshots of gravel, shrubbery, stained tiles and a garden gnome, visions of grandeur and unease

Art

Revelations in a Dank Garden

In New York, a mystery cast by Jennifer Bartlett

Twentieth century art has always liked the random. Chance meetings of images, the weird threat an unfocused eye hooks from the normal texture of life: these have fueled the reverie and invention of innumerable artists. From De Chirico's piazzas to Steven Spielberg's suburbs, our culture is intermittently fascinated by the noonday goblin—the sense that something is askew within the well lit, the ordinary, and that the closer you peer the odder it gets. Jennifer Bartlett, whose recent paintings are currently on view at the Paula Cooper Gallery in Manhattan, is a connoisseur of this kind of unease. There are exhibitions that mark a full assumption of powers: the idiom is assembled, the grammar wrought, the experiences wholly understood. So it is with this show of Bartlett's, whose unlikely motif is a dull little French garden, and whose prevailing mood is an exacerbated sense of attentiveness, suspense and imbalance.

The paintings come, in part, from disappointed tourism. The south of France has drawn artists since Van Gogh: its blue, fouled coast is speckled with monumental names, Cézanne, Renoir, Picasso, Matisse, Bonnard. Though condos, fast-food chains and jammed *autoroutes* from Bordighera to the Camargue have somewhat dimmed its luster, it still possesses—especially for those who have not been there—a durable allure.

Jennifer Bartlett, born in Long Beach, Calif., in 1941 and a New Yorker for most of her working life, had never been there, and in 1979 she decided to get away from America for the winter by renting a villa in Nice. It turned out to be a dank monster, out of town but nowhere near the sea, with camphorated neighbors. The view consisted of a rectangular, tiled pool hedged with silvery artemisia bushes; at one end stood a garden-gnome lump of a reproduction *putto*, coyly peeing into the water. Beyond that, some straggly shrubs, a screen of cypresses and a few glimpses of the house next door, as ugly as hers—and, most of the time, rain. So much for Dick and Nicole Diver's paradise.

Being stuck with the lease, Bartlett stayed there, and having nothing else to do she drew the view from her window, over and over again—a total of nearly 200 studies of the pool, the boy, the gravel, the cypresses, the shadows. She drew on the spot, from photographs and later from memory: the banal content of the failed holiday slowly acquired a precision through being shuffled, isolated, winnowed. The final result is a group of eight large paintings in which the schematic dissection of the garden that Bartlett carried out in her drawings is rethought, the elements locked together in atmospheric and sinister grandeur.

Bartlett is a deft maker of marks: she understands the syntax of representation so well that hardly an inch of surface goes slack. The way she renders the dusty black recesses of a cypress, or the paddle-like leaves of a foreground plant, or the lunar speckling of artificially lit gravel—and does it in terms of relentlessly agile movements of a broad brush—is a lesson in decisiveness. It would be hard to think of more fluent paint handling in current art than the set of three views of the tiled tank, named *Pool*, 1983. One reads it from left to right; each time the eyeline—obviously derived from handheld photos, whose careless tilt is preserved—rises a little more, so that the final image, where one looks almost straight down at the pool bottom, presents a shock like the revelation of evidence.

The tiles are streaked and blotched with rust and orange algae, sweeps and daubs of pigment; the untended pool might have been the scene of a murder, a nastiness complicated but not denied by the big, squishy peony blooms floating on the water. It is Bartlett's *aide-mémoire*, the camera, that sets the strange flavor of these images. She will paint four or five versions of the same view, shifting position a little each time; the effect is not one of Warhol-like repetition, but rather of alert, frustrated scrutiny, as though the scene held the key to some forensic mystery that lies just under the eye but is too obvious to see.

Painter Bartlett

In this garden, nothing apparently happens because time has apparently stopped, and Bartlett's images of frame-by-frame shift are a way of shaking it back into life. The place is so ambiguously quiet that after a while the kitschy little statue starts to come alive. Small changes take on enhanced significance, as in *Wind*, 1983, where the whipping of the cypress fronds, black as gnawed brushes against an unmemorably blank sky, is almost the only change (apart from eyeline) from one panel to the next. In this way—paradoxically enough, in view of her constricted subject—Bartlett emerges as a master of narrative tone. There is more in her garden than could ever have met the house agent's eye. —*By Robert Hughes*

A Symbol of Unhappiness

Marcus Dupree runs back home to Mississippi

Once upon a time, a dark time in a mean place, a child was born, a black child, born to be a running back, born to be a metaphor. His name was Marcus Dupree. The place was Philadelphia, Miss., and the year was 1964, less than a month before three civil rights workers were murdered there and then buried 15 feet under a dam.

When Marcus Dupree was five, his mother enrolled him in the first grade on the opening day of total integration for the Philadelphia public schools. His father, a man named Connors, was gone. "Dupree" is the surname of his maternal grandfather, a truck driver and occasional preacher. "Marcus" came from Shakespeare, Marc Antony.

At home in Philadelphia last summer away from Switzer's dissatisfaction

Being too good has always been a problem: it once got him banned.

By the time Dupree reached the fourth grade, the town was already aware of a 60-lb. "flag" football player who scored touchdowns whenever he pleased. In the South, promising athletes, particularly football players, are natural resources. Dupree also played basketball, ran track and pitched for several baseball teams, though he was banned from Little League for being "too good." But his specialty was running with a football. The first time Dupree touched a football in a high school game, he returned a kick 75 yds. for a touchdown.

Before long, he was the leading citizen of Philadelphia, a 6-ft. 3-in., 220-lb., 17-year-old legend who, under his helmet, wore a red net knitted by his mother, and horn-rimmed spectacles. Shreds from his tearaway jerseys became religiously kept relics. The townspeople said things like "Remember, he was born in 1964, the same year as the murders. I think he's a gift." And "He's gonna shine for us. He won't never let us down."

Dupree said things like "I get tired of all the fame." And "I sometimes wish I could be average."

He was, in the collegiate phrase, "highly sought after." The recruiting process provided Southern Author Willie Morris a hefty new book on sports and sociology, well titled *The Courting of Marcus Dupree*. U.C.L.A. brought Marcus to Los Angeles to visit the mayor and make the acquaintance of Farrah Fawcett and Cheryl Ladd. The University of Oklahoma invited him to place a telephone call from an airplane. "They say I'm 41,000 feet in the air somewhere over Oklahoma," Dupree, full of wonder, told his high school coach. "It seems like I'm almost to the moon."

In the lineage of running backs, he followed Herschel Walker, who also came from a small, once racially troubled town, Wrightsville, Ga. Walker scored 86 high school touchdowns, Dupree 87. "You'll get tired of all the attention," Walker warned the next great player when they were introduced in the locker room one afternoon after a Georgia game. "I already have," Dupree said.

He selected Oklahoma. Philadelphia had a day for him. The local paper published a commemorative "Marcus Dupree" issue. Highway signs were mounted to declare a new identity, "Philadelphia, Mississippi, Home of Marcus Dupree," and dismiss an old one. "I never thought about being a symbol until everybody started talking about it," he said. "I just thought I'd be another regular running back."

At Oklahoma last season he was much more than that, gaining 905 yds. rushing, the record for a Sooner freshman. But it was not enough for Coach Barry Switzer. Dupree scored on runs of 63 yds. against Texas, 75 against Kansas, 30 against Oklahoma State, 80 against Kansas State, 70 against Missouri and 86 against Nebraska. He also returned a punt 77 yds. against Colorado. However, Switzer judged Dupree to be fat (233 lbs.) and lazy, and the coach seemed to blame him personally for a 32-21 loss to Arizona State in the Fiesta Bowl. "He gained 239 yards," Switzer allowed, "but if he was in shape, he might have had 400."

Injured and abused this season, Dupree quit the team two weeks ago and went home to Mississippi. It was not until after he left that the academic counselor for the Oklahoma athletic department, Jim Brown, told a reporter that Dupree had essentially attended no classes this year. In any case, then, why was he still on the team? "When we give a kid an athletic scholarship, it's to represent us in games," Brown said bluntly. "Because he doesn't cut it scholastically, how can you hold him out of games?"

Evidently considering Dupree a student worth saving, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi State and Southern Mississippi asked Oklahoma's permission to resume courting Marcus for themselves. Switzer gave it bitterly. "I've told them all," he said. "The world can go after him. I don't care." Last week Southern Mississippi got him. Dupree will be eligible to play college football again in 1985. "A 19-year-old quitter left us," Switzer said. No, a 19-year-old symbol. —*By Tom Callahan*

Hail and Farewell

The great gelding Kelso dies

A walnut horse so homely and cantankerous that he was gelded as a yearling heard the sweet cheers of a racetrack crowd for the first time in 17 years, and then he died of colic the next day at the age of 26. Kelso, the great-grandson of Man o' War, was fetched to Belmont in New York State the Saturday before last, along with Forego, a younger pensioner similarly handicapped. The occasion was the Jockey Club Gold Cup, a stake that Kelso won five years in a row (1960-64), when he was the horse of the year every year. They led the post parade to promote a retirement fund for elderly Thoroughbreds, but they pranced like colts.

TONY LEONARD

Kelso in 1977

The particular pet of Allaire du Pont, Kelso was kept in luxury at her Woodstock Farm in Chesapeake City, Md. Not many geldings see a pastoral ending, but the ones that earn $1,977,896 do. That stood as the record for 13 years. In today's coin, not even John Henry's $3,906,297 would compare. Kelso won 39 of 63 races. After retirement at nine, Kelso kept busy, occasionally accompanying Du Pont on hunts. For a bachelor, he had a full life. ■

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Trying on not-for-kiddies costumes at Backstage, Inc., in Washington, left; the pumpkin's the thing for customer at Chicago Costume Co.

Halloween as an Adult Treat

An escapist extravaganza outdazzling Mardi Gras

It used to be a children's romp, before the scares of chocolate-covered razor blades. Long, long before that, it was a religious occasion for their pagan elders, and now it has been taken back by the grownups—masks, costumes, witches, jack-o'-lanterns and all. Increasingly in the '80s, Halloween has become an escapist extravaganza for adults, a trickless treat that more closely resembles Mardi Gras than the candy-and-apple surfeits of yesteryear. This year's celebration will be the most raucous ever, lasting four or five days in some places, a virtual Halloweek.

Customs in costumes are also changing. While traditional devils, ghosts and vampires are still popular, many adult outfits are bewitching in another sense: harem robes, Tarzan loincloths, geisha girls, samurai swordsmen, plus Dolly Parton, Carmen Miranda and Lady Godiva. This year's revelers will also be garbed as Mr. T., E.T., gruesome beasts from *Return of the Jedi*, punk rockers, hot dogs, sandwiches, trash bags, schools of fish, brilliantly plumed birds, six-packs of beer, and, if a Denver pair repeats its act, a couple in bed, including the bed. A New York City family will masquerade as Britain's royal family with a horse-drawn coach. An Atlantan will make the rounds as Hitler in a vintage Mercedes-Benz. A Chicago couple undresses as Adam and Eve, with only a serpent between them. This category does not find favor with the purveyors of costumes and materials, many of whom, like the Atlanta Costume Shop, now do 25% of their annual business at Halloween. Says Chicago Costume Co. Owner Mary Hickey: "In each of the past two years business has been up 25% over the preceding year."

The haunting grounds range from discos and hotel ballrooms to private mansions and clubs, and museums in San Francisco, Coral Gables and Miami. Among the happenings

▸ In Washington, D.C., Georgetown's Oct. 31 revel has become one of the capital's wildest annual events

▸ In Manhattan's Greenwich Village, some 150,000 spectators are expected to watch a superparade that boasts a dozen musical groups, snaking dancers, and floats devoted to ghosts, ghouls and warlocks. At 8 p.m., the height of the parade, a huge spider will wriggle up the Village clock tower. At Area, a trendy nightspot, Owner Shawn Hausman will fill the club with macabre trappings such as a display in which mists rise from a pond awash with skeletons.

▸ In Los Angeles, the Bonaventure Hotel's Fantasia nightclub will award prizes for the ugliest face and scariest screamer. At Myron's Ballroom, where old folks go to dance to Big Band music on Sundays, as many as 800 are expected to attend in costume

▸ In San Francisco, the Trocadero Transfer club's biggest party of the year will be a three-day bash based on *Road Warrior*, an Australian film that deals with the survivors of a nuclear attack. A cheerier event will be the Beaux Arts Ball, revived after some 50 years, to raise funds to establish a department of architecture and design at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art.

▸ In Boston, the Metro, a dance club featuring recorded rock and new wave music and six video screens, anticipates five sellout nights of Halloweeniana. Nearby Salem, "Witch City," has planned some 40 events for 50,000 weekend visitors. Among them: a Bites and Kisses party at which Dracula will pass out kisses (actually Hershey's) to donors at a bloodmobile.

Apart from kooks and college kids, who attends these revels? Says Artist Robert Fischer, 34, a father of two who stages Chicago's most lavish celebration at the Germania Club (2,500 guests at $20): "The mothers and fathers of my friends come. I get society people, corporation presidents, movie, TV and music people, secretaries, punks, drag queens, designers—hair, clothing and interiors—artists and more. They come from Chicago, Zion, Dubuque, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Los Angeles, New York City and Miami." For many celebrators, Halloween is an opportunity to shed their workaday personas, for the sophisticated to become Snow White, the introverted to play siren. Subconsciously, many may also feel, like their pagan ancestors, the need to celebrate life on this Night of the Wandering Souls, as the ancient Celts called it. Says Smithsonian Institution Folklorist Jack Santino: "Dressing up and switching personal identity is part of a need for *communitas*, an exultant, spontaneous celebration of role reversal in society." They also have a thumping good time. —*By Michael Demarest. Reported by Mary Shaughnessy/New York, with other bureaus*

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Where the Elite Don't Meet

CLASS: A GUIDE THROUGH THE AMERICAN STATUS SYSTEM
by Paul Fussell; Summit; 202 pages; $13.95

In the '50s, books like Russell Lynes' *The Tastemakers* and Vance Packard's *The Status Seekers* were read by apprehensive Americans eager to appear just a little classier than they were. Their expectations implied that class was a matter not of birth and inheritance but of accomplishment and style. As a system, class belonged to a Europe of social barriers and humiliations that no American would stand for.

Or so it was believed. Paul Fussell, 59, a Pasadena-born Anglophile and former professor of English at Rutgers, asserts that there are nine rigid castes in the U.S. They range from the out-of-sight rich living off capital in grand seclusion, to the destitute, who are also well hidden. In between are various levels of uppers, middles and "proles," Shaw's and Orwell's abbreviation of proletariat, now Fussell's gleefully derogatory term for blue-collar workers.

The author of the much honored *The Great War and Modern Memory* is not out to win votes. His aim is to offend, mainly the middle class, and to decry the decline of culture and taste. He succeeds, with considerable wit and a fine malice, but it is hard to take him seriously. Having revealed the stratagems and pretensions of everyone able and willing to read his book, Fussell emerges as an upscale bohemian. His ideal social category is the "X" class, a cosmopolitan elite who speak several languages, drink excellent cheap wine, never have to be at work on time and whistle Beethoven quartets.

Fussell commits some glaring acts of omission as well. The special status of political leaders, heads of corporation, celebrities and the most successful criminals is ignored. He begs off discussing religion as a class indicator and totally neglects race, the great divisor.

But cutting prose and a cranky confidence make Fussell a formidable exploiter of status anxiety. Imagine how many college stickers will quietly disappear from the family cars after uneasy readers learn that a seemingly harmless practice is an advertisement of insecurity and prestige by association. The news that better sorts wear only navy blue and gray should seal the musty fate of millions of brown suits, and dinner-party hostesses may never get another compliment after the pronouncement that upper classes find praise rude, "possessions there being of course beautiful, expensive and impressive, without question."

ARTHUR SCHATZ

Paul Fussell: cutting prose and cranky confidence

Excerpt

"Proles join with the middle class in the pleasure with which they contemplate their own names, which is to say, the assurance they derive from knowing that they are not as anonymous and replaceable as society, in its dealings with them, seems to imply. This need is like that of little children who by similar means gain assurance of their identity and value: 'This is my very own shoe bag,' 'My very own cup and plate,' etc. Thus from one middle-class catalogue you can order His-Her wristwatches, with 'John' on the face of one, 'Mary' on the other. This feature will bring you pleasure countless times a day as you glance at your wrist to ascertain the time and find your own invaluable name there: what a comfort—you are somebody after all."

When Fussell is not dreaming of his happy band of Xs, he seems most at home in the upper-middle class. From this vantage he decodes its symbols and looks down at variations in the lower stratas. Driveways, of all things, strike him with deep significance. Curved is preferred over straight because more land is used, suggesting that the owner has plenty to spare. Gravel, particularly if it is beige, surpasses asphalt because it is more difficult to maintain.

Prestige attached to garages remains unsettled, but the family car had better not be a Mercedes, Rolls or Cadillac. Fussell assures us that the best upper-middles drive plain American models that are permanently dulled by a barely perceptible layer of dirt. Jeeps, he says, suggest that one of your residences is in a place so unpublic that the roads to it are not even paved, "indeed are hardly passable by your ordinary vulgar automobile."

The living room is such an important measure of rank that Fussell gives anxious readers a quiz. A class quotient of sorts is determined from a list of 60 items of furnishing and décor. For example, parquet floors, original paintings by noted artists and copies of the *New York Review of Books* raise one's CQ; vinyl floors, "collectibles" and a motorcycle on the hearth lower the score.

Status trappings are available to anyone with a credit rating that will ensure a flood of the tonier mail-order catalogues. What cannot be bought easily is a change in language habits. Accent is not an issue for Fussell; the middle-class weakness for euphemism is. To say "people with alcohol problems" for drunks, "bathroom" for toilet, "sweet and pungent" for sweet and sour marks the reader irredeemably. Another of Fussell's dead giveaways is the use of long words for short ones. His newly rich might say, "Send around the limousine and chauffeur," while the old money up the block would ask for a car and driver.

The source of these awakenings is "Speak, That I May See Thee," the book's most coherent and useful chapter, which is less costly to take to heart than putting a curve in the driveway. The author has a passionate appreciation for the value of precise English that goes beyond his interest in caste systems. Elsewhere, however, he is carried away by loose sociology and a bleak determinism that has always been unpopular in America. Many of his perceptions point toward uncomfortable truths; only the hopelessly inattentive would deny the existence of hierarchies and elites. But until Fussell can draw his Xs more convincingly, it is best to read *Class* as a graduate text after *The Official Preppy Handbook*. —**By R.Z. Sheppard**

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Dodger

THE KINGDOM BY THE SEA
by Paul Theroux
Houghton Mifflin; 353 pages; $16.95

Modestly ironic accounts of crocodiles evaded, sheep's-ear soup survived, and thieving camel drivers overcome are what a proper travel book requires. The author labors at gaudy landscapes because they make good backdrops for sketches of himself in jaunty poses; the reader tolerates this hamminess because tales of bandits and dysentery make him feel snug in his armchair. Writing such stuff is an honest dodge, and in recent years no one has dodged more expertly than Paul Theroux in *The Great Railway Bazaar* (Europe and Asia) and *The Old Patagonian Express* (North and South America).

An unspoken compact between author and reader, however, assumes that

Paul Theroux
Raising torment to a mystical level.

the author should more or less enjoy his journeying. Not everything about it, not the fleas and the sandstorms. In general, though, a good travel writer should like what he sees and, in the manner of a Labrador retriever who wanders, admire each new vista slightly more than the last. If not, why travel? What's the point?

Theroux violates the unspoken rule in his third travel book, subtitled *A Journey Around Great Britain*. Here he loathes almost everything he sees and despises each new horror more than the one before. Since there is no reason to believe that he is wholly wrong in his judgments, he convinces the reader that to visit this wretched shore would be an act of lunacy.

Theroux had lived for eleven years in London, he writes ("I had come to dislike the city"), but knew little about the rest of England. He decided to travel around its coast and those of Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales, going mainly by foot and

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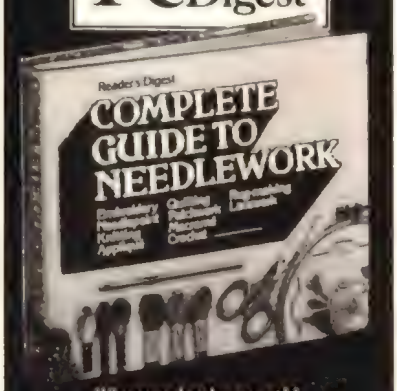

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rail, as is his custom, and avoiding cathedrals and castles on principle. The premise sounds delightful; the practice was catastrophic. Man was so vile that few prospects pleased. The author found defeated respectability at best, tackiness and decay as a matter of course, buildings meanly and cheaply made, people ignorant and dulled.

Hypnotized by ugliness, he writes: "Walking south from Littlestone was drearier in sunshine than it would have been in fog or rain, because the bright light exposed every woeful bungalow . . . " "Most villages and towns wore a pout of rejection." "None of this made the town of Portsmouth visibly interesting, because nothing could." "I saw that Dawlish was small and dull." "Every house was identical, and equally ugly." "I saw British people lying stiffly on the beach like dead insects." "I came to hate Aberdeen more than any other place I saw." "Up close, Derry was frightful." "I decided that I had seen few places on earth more depressing than Strobane in the rain." "If I had only one word to describe the expression of England's face I would have said: insulted."

Theroux cheers up briefly in Wales, possibly because the Welsh language, which he does not understand, makes what is dreary seem exotic. (No doubt travel writers should stick to countries whose languages elude them: bad German, for instance, is an asset in Zurich; you can have a comical adventure asking for a train ticket to *Senf*, which means mustard, instead of *Genf*, which is Geneva.)

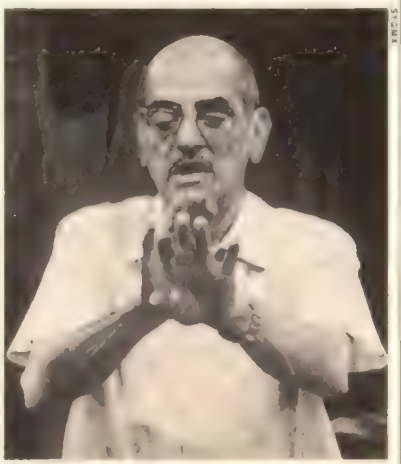
Following the coast turned out to be a mistake, because its towns were filled with a seedier lot of tourists than Theroux would have met in castles and cathedrals. He grumbles about the nuclear power plants he passes, and is horrified at the despair of jobless young people, but the necessary briskness of a travel book prevents him from saying anything compelling on these subjects. At times he seems to be seeking out ennui at its most numbing, as if to raise torment to a mystical level.

Theroux comments that travel is often like moving about in time. "Most countries had specific years," he writes. "In Turkey it was always 1952, in Malaysia 1937, Afghanistan was 1910, and Bolivia 1949. It is 20 years ago in the Soviet Union, ten in Norway, five in France. It is always last year in Australia and next week in Japan. Britain and the United States were the present—but the present contains the future." During his trip, he writes, understating the case, he was "not necessarily looking for progress"; deterioration and decay seemed to him more futuristic. Possibly, though, in sneering endlessly at elderly tourists too poor to visit Majorca, and at the purse-mouthed landladies who served them their tea, he does not prove a case or even state one clearly. What this usually admirable writer establishes in the end is that not all journeys should be written about. —*By John Skow*

Dry Martini

MY LAST SIGH *by Luis Buñuel*
Translated by Abigail Israel
Knopf; 256 pages; $15.95

He began his first film, *Un Chien Andalou* (1928), by walking onto a moon-flooded balcony and calmly slitting a young woman's eye. He began his last film, *That Obscure Object of Desire* (1977), by replacing his leading lady with two actresses who alternated scenes in the same role. For Luis Buñuel, the Spanish film maker who died this July at 83, conventions of content and form were mere pieties, best approached with a straight razor and a straight face. He had been, after all, one of the merry pranksters of surrealism, spiking café chat in



Luis Buñuel

Exposing himself as discreetly charming.

bohemian Paris with cute conspiracies like sneaking a pornographic movie into a children's matinee. Back in the 1920s, the aesthetics of atrocity had worthy, powerful antagonists: the church, the government, the standard of fettered sexuality. Too soon though, the bad-taste revolution proved successful, and today the fractured visual logic of *Un Chien Andalou* can be found in *Vogue* graphics and on MTV. For the surrealists, the price of victory was high: acceptance by the hated bourgeoisie. Buñuel must have sighed in agreement when his friend André Breton noted that, alas, no one could be scandalized any more.

Buñuel's autobiography (written in collaboration with his longtime screenwriter, Jean-Claude Carrière) is thus in part the testament of an old man passing ironic judgment on a century that finally learned to accommodate him. If the book offers any shocks, they are of the boomerang variety: the iconoclast at twilight is in danger of becoming a moralist. He condemns "the proliferation of gutter words" in modern literature; he criticizes the ex-

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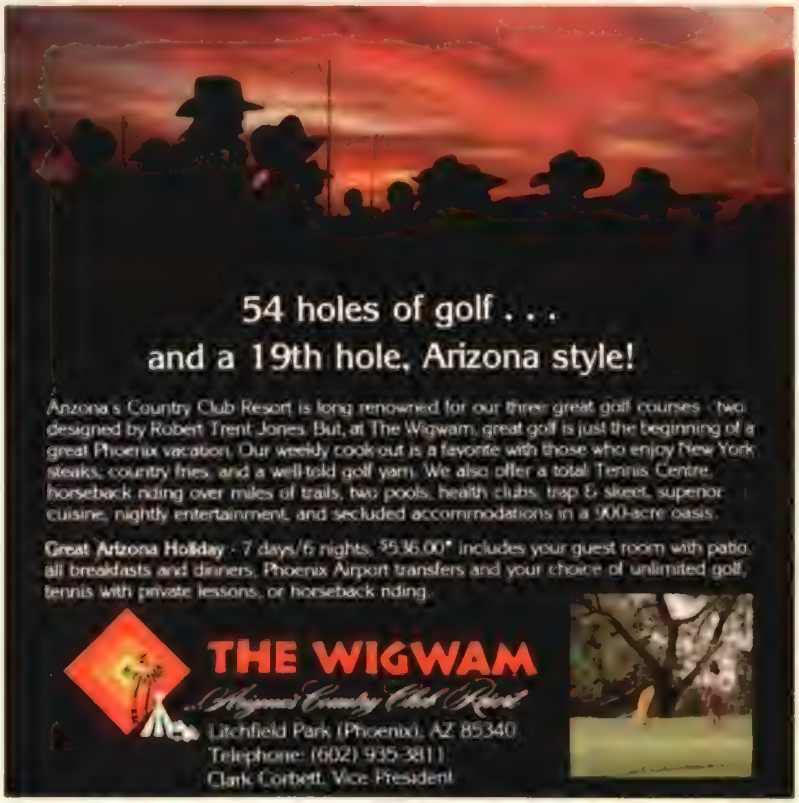

*per person, double occupancy, Sept. 17 to Jan. 2; Jan. 2 to April 23, $650.25; April 23 to May 31, $585.50. More or fewer nights available. Choose this popular package or Full American Plan rates from $72.00 per person. Very special children's rates, too.

Books

cesses of his anarchist comrades in the Spanish Civil War; he expresses relief in the waning of his sexual desire ("It's as if I've finally been relieved of a tyrannical burden"). It would seem that the only way the old surrealist can shock today's audience is by exposing himself as a discreetly charming gentleman.

Flashback to Buñuel's birthplace, the Spanish village of Calanda, where "the Middle Ages lasted until World War I." The seven Buñuel children kept a menagerie of rats, monkeys, falcons, frogs and snakes as pets; Luis, the eldest, paraded through his upper-middle-class youth in religious vestments. In the early days, just about everyone he met was famous. Even before he made his first film at 28, Buñuel tells us, he had vanquished Heavyweight Champ Jack Johnson at arm wrestling; he had met Jorge Luis Borges, and found him tedious; Picasso had given him a painting (which he lost), and Lorca had written poems to him (which he quotes). Later, in Hollywood, Charlie Chaplin thoughtfully arranged an orgy for Buñuel, and in New York, the power of the Roman Catholic Church was flexed to remove him from an editing job at the Museum of Modern Art (where one of his tasks had been to cut Leni Riefenstahl's Nazified masterpiece, *Triumph of the Will*, to half its length for U.S. consumption). By the time Buñuel got around to directing his first fiction feature, he was 46.

The anecdotes and opinions keep caroming like talk-show badinage on Olympus. They meet the traditional challenge of autobiography: to speak entertainingly about others while revealing as little as possible about yourself. It is the pose that best suits a movie director, whose art is by nature voyeuristic rather than confessional. Of Jeanne, Buñuel's wife of almost 50 years, we learn only that he married her in Paris (forbidding her family to attend), had lunch with her, then took a train alone to Madrid. On his 32 films the Aragonian curmudgeon throws little light, neither *Los Olvidados* nor *Viridiana* nor *Belle de Jour* receives as much space as he lavishes on his recipe for the perfect dry martini. Perhaps he is not being coy when he avers that his real life was in dreams, so many of which surfaced as blunt, seductive imagery in films from *L'Age d'Or* to *The Exterminating Angel*.

His films are argument enough for his place in movie history. With *My Last Sigh*, Buñuel allows himself to be seen in another light: as that most engaging of con artists, the raconteur. Reading the memoir is like spending a long, lazy afternoon in his presence. His voice never rises above a murmur. A small smile engages his face as he recalls some long-ago provocation that today scandalizes no one. Now and then he dozes. On one such afternoon this summer, Buñuel nodded off into immortality. One imagines that his last sigh was an "aahhh" as wry and reflective as this lovely book.

—*By Richard Corliss*

Good Field, Good Hit

A new NBC series, Bay City Blues, *looks like an all-star*

The number of TV shows that have revolved around the summer game can be counted on the fingers of a catcher's mitt: *Ball Four* and *The Bad News Bears*. Both lasted less than a season, giving credence to the network adage that sports only play on the field, never on the sound stage.

That received wisdom may now be on the way out: one rookie series appears to have the goods to make it in the majors. *Bay City Blues*, which premieres Oct. 25 on NBC, is a weekly hourlong show about the fortunes of a minor-league baseball club called the Bay City Bluebirds. Kisses and bases are stolen; suitors and batters strike out; umpires and spouses cry foul. Created by Steven Bochco and Jeffrey Lewis (*Hill Street Blues*), it is a wry, funny, poignant and surprisingly grownup show about men who play a boys' game.

At Bluebird Stadium, the scoreboard does not zap, crackle and pop; an unseen hand changes the goose eggs each inning. No Astro-Turf here; cows graze on the infield in anticipation of Farm Night, when the ballplayers have a hand at milking them. The team is a collection of youths on the way up and burned-out cases on the way down. There is the hot prospect (Patrick Cassidy) who is a terror in the outfield and a bed wetter at home. And the hick pitcher (Barry Tubbs) who appears to get height sickness when he climbs the pitcher's mound. And Rocky, the brawny third baseman (Ken Olin), a con man in pinstripes who hankers to croon the national anthem to a salsa beat. And an aging slugger (Bernie Casey) awarded a "previously owned" pimpmobile on his appreciation day. And, of course, the curmudgeonly owner, played by Pat Corley, the scowling coroner from *Hill Street*, who describes his team as "a bunch of guys who ain't worth squat." For lagniappe, there is the team mascot, the Bluebird of Happiness (Marco Rodriguez), in the guise of a bargain-basement Big Bird.

The chief of this crew is Michael Nouri, the soulful and streetwise Pygmalion of *Flashdance*. Nouri plays the wise and slightly mournful manager to understated perfection. His assistant, the underhanded pitching coach (Dennis Franz, another *Hill Street* veteran), teaches his charges the subtler aspects of the game: "Your spitball isn't named exactly right. You could use your Vaseline, your oils, your earwax, or what I think is primo, the gooey white kind of spit that comes after drinking a lotta milk." Later, when an umpire spies a foreign substance on the ball, the freshly instructed young pitcher (Perry Lang) is not only humiliated but disarmed. When he returns home after the game, he discovers his wife in a compromising squeeze play with the cable TV installer. Shocked and dumbfounded, he screams at her, "Is he at least gonna give you free cable?"

Bay City Blues follows the successful formula of its predecessor, but the show does more than replace nightsticks with Louisville Sluggers. The series features a repertory company brimming with quirky and distinctive characters, simultaneously strong and vulnerable. Each episode has multiple, intersecting plot lines, tight camera shots, overlapping dialogue à la Robert Altman movies (or locker rooms), private lives spilling over into public, and a concern with such human-size issues as embarrassment, anxiety, loyalty and how to hit a hanging curve. Knowledge of baseball lore is useful, not essential.

The idea for the show popped into Bochco's head last July while he was watching an oldtimers game at Dodger Stadium. Eventually a meeting was arranged with Grant Tinker, the chairman of NBC, and other executives at the office of MTM Enterprises, the production company where Bochco works and that Tinker created. Bochco brought along a shopping bag full of major-league baseballs. The executives played with the idea and the baseballs. One hour later, Bochco left the room with a commitment for 13 shows. First on their agenda: the construction of a full-scale $500,000 stadium in Sun Valley, Calif., with just the right rinky-dink look.

Casting the show was trickier. The partners gave double auditions: the first to see if the prospects could act, the second to see if they could throw. No one had to have Pete Rose's stats. Notes Lewis: "The team is probably at the level of a decent-to-good high school squad."

Luckily, Nouri does not have to swing a bat. When Bochco and Lewis first approached him about the part, he said, "Look, guys, I know nothing about baseball. Is that the game with touchdowns?" Even so, the acting and the action seem authentic: almost all the players have triple-A moves. The show features 16 regulars, twice the number that *Hill Street* started with and two more than that show has today. Although the viewer must assimilate a great deal of information, notes Bochco, the "ensemble cast gives the audience a chance to get to know a lot of different characters and plug into a lot of different stories."

According to the producer, the current advertising-agency wisdom about a sports series is that women will never watch it. Bochco, who had boyish dreams of being a ballplayer, admits that "baseball is essentially a man's fantasy, not a woman's." Accordingly, he has been careful to treat the unfulfilled longings of some of the players' wives as much as those of their husbands. Sharon Stone and Michele Greene play high-spirited but long-suffering companions who must put up with lingering slumps and Baseball Annies. The only weak character is a wealthy banker's wife, played by the luminous Kelly Harmon. Her role needs more reason for being around than simply to give the audience someone to stare at.

Despite an occasional lapse, the Bay City Bluebirds are minor-leaguers in name only; this backwater is a microcosm of major-league concerns and emotions. When the skipper of the team strolls over to the local college and eavesdrops on a lecture, the teacher is reading aloud from Melville. " 'Passion,' " she says, " 'and passion at its profoundest, is not a thing demanding a palatial stage whereon to play its part . . .' " Judging from the early episodes of *Bay City Blues*, all it needs is a locker room. —*By Richard Stengel. Reported by Denise Worrell/Los Angeles*

***Bay City* regulars, clockwise, Casey, Franz, Harmon, Nouri**

A wry and grownup look at men who play a boys' game.

"DIRECT DEPOSIT GIVES MAMA A GOOD FEELING, AND SHE'S GOT THAT COMING."

The old neighborhood's changing. But Mama won't leave—she says it's her home. I worry a lot less about her now that she's got Direct Deposit. Her Social Security goes straight to her account, so she never has to carry a check.

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Theater

Off-Off-Broadway's Daffy Diva

GALAS *at the Ridiculous Theatrical Company*

Such are the demands of art that great performers must often display their power and grace in the most outlandish haberdashery. Watch Julius Erving in short pants, Mikhail Baryshnikov in tights—or Charles Ludlam in a turquoise-and-orange evening dress. It is true that Ludlam, the founder, artistic director, playwright-in-residence, director and shining star of the Ridiculous Theatrical Company, can often be seen striding the tiny stage of his Greenwich Village theater in trousers. He has trod these boards as the satyric Bluebeard, as Ebenezer Scrooge, as a neurotic shrink in *Reverse Psychology*, even as Rufus Foufas, a bamboozled patron of the arts in *Le Bourgeois Avant-Garde*. But nothing brings out a farceur's spirit of adventure like a cunning little Empire nightgown. It was as a delicately audacious Marguerite Gautier in his 1973 *Camille* that Ludlam first broke out of the circle of his off-off-Broadway camp followers and into more general acclaim. Ten years later he is packing them into the Ridiculous with his impersonation of Maria Callas in a giddy travesty called *Galas*.

Ludlam traces every seismic bump in the career of Maria Magdalena Galas: her fierce determination to be a star ("I am a musician, I am a musical instrument, I am music!"); her marriage to the millionaire brickmaker Giovanni Baptista Mercanteggini ("Bricks, of all things," Maria demurely deadpans on learning of his trade); her dalliance with the Greek tycoon Aristotle Plato Socrates Odysseus (who admits that he finds Maria "a suitable object for worship"); her sparring with Pope Sixtus VII over matters musical ("I'm Greek Orthodox," she explains to a friend. "To me he's just another bishop"); her triumphs and decline ("Where is my voice? I call it and call it and it will not answer"); her tragic early death as she ascends into delirium and stabs herself with a stiletto concealed in the ribbing of her *Tosca* fan. Then Ludlam brings his audience back to earth with a deliciously silly curtain call.

ANITA FELDMAN—SHEVETT

CHRISTOPHER SCOTT

Ludlam as Galas, left, and as a nutty shrink in *Reverse Psychology*

In a dress or trousers he moves from funny halfway to sublime.

Like Ludlam's 25 earlier Ridiculous plays (which include burlesques of Wagner, sci-fi movies, high fashion, sexual fads and children's puppet shows), *Galas* means to be, well, ridiculous. And this diva is frequently a figure of bawdy fun. Crossing her legs, smoothing her hair, blowing a kiss, myopically eyeing a newspaper story, waving a black-gloved finger under the Pope's nose, manipulating that goofy face into a thousand contortions of hauteur and despair, Ludlam's Galas pushes the mannerisms of every grandiose superstar from Traubel to Tallulah one octave higher to achieve parody in perfect pitch. By the climax, Ludlam has moved from funny halfway to sublime. He does not keep the satirist's distance from Galas; he inhabits her, and turns ramshackle farce into full-throated melodrama.

Leading a band of faithful players who dare only to flirt with competence, producing his extravaganzas on shoestring budgets, Ludlam is a star in the vanishing tradition of the actor-manager. The Ludlam line may go back even further, to the capering Pantaloons of Renaissance Italy. With reckless energy and a wickedly contemporary show-biz savvy, this clown prince is putting the art back in *commedia dell'arte*.

—**By Richard Corliss**

Milestones

CONVICTED. Edwin P. Wilson, 55, former CIA agent currently serving 32 years for shipping arms to Libya; of trying to arrange from prison the murder of two federal prosecutors, a business associate and five Government witnesses who participated in the trial that led to his incarceration; in New York City. Wilson now faces up to 152 more years for the attempted murders and other related convictions.

HOSPITALIZED. Connie Francis, 44, singer *(Where the Boys Are)* who suffered a breakdown and became a recluse for seven years after she was raped in 1974; in a psychiatric hospital; in Fort Lauderdale, Fla. Francis was involuntarily committed in September by her father, George Franconero, who claimed that she has an "irrational" fear of crime, is a danger to herself and others and is spending her money "foolishly." Her lawyers are fighting the commitment. Last summer Franconero had his daughter placed in a Dallas psychiatric ward; after she got out on a habeas corpus writ, Francis said that her father wanted her "under his thumb."

DIED. Maurice Bishop, 39, Marxist Prime Minister of the Caribbean island of Grenada; in a military execution; in the capital, St. George's (*see* WORLD).

DIED. George Liberace, 71, violinist and bandleader who played the silent straight man to his considerably louder younger brother, Liberace, in concerts and on the entertainer's 1950s television shows; of heart disease complicated by a chronic blood disorder; in Las Vegas.

DIED. Raymond Aron, 78, maverick conservative French intellectual whose current bestseller, *Memoirs: 50 Years of Political Reflection*, chronicles his experiences as one of France's leading journalists and political theorists; of a heart attack; in Paris. A prominent figure in the Free French movement during World War II, Aron wrote influential columns for the Paris daily newspaper *Le Figaro* (1947-77) and the weekly newsmagazine *L'Express* (1977-83) while teaching the social sciences at various universities, including the Sorbonne. A relentlessly independent thinker, he incurred the wrath of the left-wing intelligentsia with books like *The Opium of the Intellectuals* (1955), in which he attacked French Marxism. Though he was a committed anti-Communist and exponent of Western values, Aron lately had bouts of pessimism about the West's political will, saying that "all the causes I fought for have been put in question just when people accept that in most of my combats I was not wrong."

DIED. Peter Seitz, 78, arbitrator whose 1975 decision in the contract disputes of Baseball Pitchers Andy Messersmith and Dave McNally led to the free-agent system that revolutionized the sport, giving players unprecedented negotiating power; of a heart attack; in New York City.

The Monsters Are Back at the Door

Again. That time of year again. The body stiffens, the bones grow cold, and we are standing helpless inside the door awaiting the arrival of our monsters. Each year we perform this ritual, following the Druids in their annual practice of calling forth the terrifying spirits of the age in an effort to dispel them. These are not children—no diminutive, sweet-voiced ghosts and witches reaching timidly for corn candy. They are the *real* monsters of our times, and they are not so easily appeased. Brace yourself. The moon is hidden in the clouds, the house as quiet as a tomb. And here they come again:

VOICES OF TERROR

1) Hi. This is Jill. I'm not at home now. I'm out or something. But I guess that's like obvious. Anyhow, if you want to leave a message . . .
2) . . . 20% hazy, 40% sunny and windy, with 55% chance of showers and an 80% chance of clearing, changing to sleet.
3) Thank you very much. At first I had not intended to make a long speech tonight, but . . .
4) Your daughter home? Tell her that it's Biker.

TALES FROM THE CRYPT

1) *Staten Island* by James A. Michener. Thirteen centuries of life and struggle in New York's least-known borough, focusing on the saga of the Ferry family. "Magnificent"—*Kirkus Reviews.*
2) *Erma Bombeck's Letters to Andy Rooney.* Hilarious yet wise correspondence between the nation's best-loved humorists, with advice on everything from how to jar pickles to how to eat jam. "Side-splitting"—*Kirkus Reviews.*
3) *The Wallace Family's Book of the Wallace Family.* A complete listing of all the people in the world, past and present, bearing the name Wallace or Wallechinsky, and what they did with their lives. "Indispensable"—*Kirkus Reviews.*
4) *Richer and Thinner in Your Mid-Life Crisis* by Jane Fonda and Garfield the Cat. Frankly commercial yet endearing and useful guide by America's bestselling authors. "A treat"—*Kirkus Reviews.*
5) *All Things Soft and Edible* by James Herriot. A surprising new look at the Yorkshire veterinarian. Introduction by Julia Child. "Delicious"—*Kirkus Reviews.*

DEAD OF NIGHT

6:30 *Three's Company* (R)
7:00 *Manimal* (R)
7:30 *Don't Give My Baby the Chair* (2 hr.). TV movie about blind, interracial couple living in South Africa whose seven-year-old dyslexic son has been accused of rape and murder. Linda Blair and Edward Asner. Tender, raging.
8:00 *Sports Spectacular: Bowling from Halifax* (R)
8:30 *Brighton War Bride* (5 hr.). A 78-part BBC series on British hotel life during World War I, specifically January-March 1917. Superb cast.
9:00 *Will There Be Another Christmas?* (7 hr.). TV movie. A terminally ill female wheelchair basketball team beats the Philadelphia 76ers. Linda Blair and Edward Asner. Convincing, raging.
9:30 MTV (rock music). Groups: Maimed; Sick and Vile; The Herpes.
10:00 *Barkie* (new comedy series). What happens when a divorced homeless couple adopts a Chicano orphan who can change himself into a flying puppy? Edward Asner and Linda Blair. Delightful, raging.
10:30 *Luciano Pavarotti Sings Every Aria Ever Written* (9 days).

THEM

Bill Blass explaining how he does it; Martina Navratilova explaining how she did it; Warren Beatty explaining why he did it; Ben Kingsley explaining that it was important; the cast of *Torch Song Trilogy* explaining how incredible it is; the cast of *M*A*S*H* explaining how remarkable it was; Carl Sagan explaining how many there are; Billy Martin explaining it was a mistake; George Steinbrenner explaining it was a misunderstanding; Larry Speakes explaining what was really meant; David Bowie explaining what he is; Mary Cunningham and William Agee explaining everything.

ALONE IN THE DARK

1) *An Officer and Princess Leia.* Richard Gere and Carrie Fisher. Slum kid fights to join the Jedi.
2) *Flashin' 'n' Dancin'.* Jennifer Beals and John Travolta. A dentist and a C.P.A. dance their way into the Kirov.
3) *Rocky IX.* Sylvester Stallone *et al.* In a 15-round split decision, Rocky regains crown from Burgess Meredith.
4) *Beer Haul Redneck Express.* Burt Reynolds, Dom De Luise. High-speed fun as battling bootleggers barrel down highways crashing into diners.
5) *Spielberg, the Extraterrestrial.* Adorable creature descends from another planet and begins directing movies.

THE CABINET OF DR. CALIGARI

To the staff: It is my great pleasure to announce the appointment of Vice President Zinc Savage, who comes to us from the SWAT division of the Philadelphia police department, where "Old Firing Squad," as he was known . . .; Out of paper; "The boss would like to see you, Smith. *Now*"; "How about lunch some time?"; Dictated but not signed; "That's a no-brainer, Smith"; "Does Mr. Harris know what this call is in regard to?"; Signed but not dictated; "Let's lunch"; Out of ink; Not dictated, not signed; "Ever free for lunch?"; "Smith, give me a mind-dump on this by tomorrow"; Best wishes, Best regards, Warmest wishes, All best, All warmest; Dictated but not read; To the staff: Due to heavy losses in the last quarter . . .; "May I speak to you—privately?"; Out of order; Out to lunch; "So you're Smith. We've heard a *lot* about *you.*"

Do you think that ends it? Or is there yet one more terror lurking in the shadows? Listen. What was that noise? Did you hear a footstep? There is nothing we can do. The house shakes, the dishes rattle, and our hands tremble on the doorknob. Come in, gentlemen. Another election year—already? —***By Roger Rosenblatt***

Illustration for TIME by Elwood Smith

Ford LTD
Comfort when you want it...

Ford LTD. It's a beautiful balance of the two most important things a car needs to be. LTD's design is smart, crisp and understated. Inside, it is a comfortable, functional place to be. The seats are designed for driving comfort. They provide good lower back and under-thigh support. Side bolsters are generous to provide support while cornering. Both front seats are fully reclinable and feature fold-down armrests. LTD's interior is designed to let you drive, and drive well, in comfort and style.

Capability when you need it.

Beneath all the comfort, there's solid capability. LTD's suspension with its front stabilizer bar and gas-filled shocks and struts coupled with rack and pinion steering makes up a ride and handling system that can handle almost any driving situation.

LTD. It's from Ford. And an independent survey concluded Ford makes the best-built American cars. The survey measured owner-reported problems during the first three months of ownership of 1983 cars designed and built in the U.S.

Ford LTD. Comfort when you want it. Capability when you need it.

Get it together–
Buckle up.

Have you driven a Ford... lately?

Ford

It's not whether
you win or lose...
it's how you
end the game.
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